

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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Art. 1.—THE FOUNDER OF THE ROYAL LITERARY FUND.

THE Royal Literary Fund, which is just entering upon its hundred and thirtieth year of usefulness, sprang from rather an odd brain. 'Sprang,' however, is not the word, for its evolution was difficult and slow, sixteen years at least intervening between the first public suggestion of such an institution and its formal organisation in 1790. Let us see what manner of man was the fount and origin of this good thing: a not untimely proceeding, as it happens, for the Committee of the Fund are now celebrating, some little while after the event, the centenary of his death, in 1816, by the erection of a commemorative tablet.

David Williams was born in 1738 'at Watford, Caerphilly, in Glamorganshire, South Wales, but had not, according to a biographical notice by a friend, either 'from Nature or habit any of the provincial peculiarities of that country.' As we shall, however, see later he was, in his own conceit, a true Welshman. His father, who kept a store for miners, lost money in unsuccessful speculation and left Mrs Williams and a large family in embarrassments which, but for the filial piety of the young David, 'would have terminated in extreme distress'; but precisely how the boy can have helped her is unknown. All that is known is that, after a grammar-school education, he was, much against his own inclination, but in obedience to a death-bed wish of his Methodist father, who was set upon having a divine in the family, placed, at the age of sixteen, in the Dissenting Academy at Carmarthen, with the idea of his becoming a minister.

Although an unwilling student ('gay, ardent and sprightly, with a bosom languishing for pleasure,' is the description of him at this time), he was a very receptive and intelligent one; so much so that on becoming ordained, at the age of twenty, he was appointed to the care of a small congregation at Frome, at a yearly stipend exceeding by five pounds that of the Rev. Dr Primrose of Wakefield. At Frome he remained until 1761, with much of the burden of his family on his shoulders, when he passed on to the Mint meeting-house at Exeter, not, however—since the brethren there were tinctured with Arianism and demanded a similar leaven in their pastor—until he had been ordained anew. Williams continued to teach and preach at Exeter until 1769, when he resigned, willingly or perforce—he on his side charging the elders with Tartuffism, and they alleging against him a freedom of behaviour unseemly in a spiritual shepherd. What precisely happened is not now to be ascertained, but Williams' own reference to this period of his career, in an autobiographical fragment, written some time after 1802, entitled 'Incidents in my own life which have been often thought of some importance,' recently acquired by the Cardiff Public Library and now quoted for the first time, runs thus:

'It was that distress [i.e. of his mother and her children] which induced me to remove to Exeter, for I was happy at Frome, and it was that distress which kept me [this is cryptic] from seeking an advantageous marriage, though I spent 19 parts in 20 of my time among women. This seduced me into the paths of pleasure, which the eye of censure soon observed, and which soon led me, it does not signify how, out of the narrow inclosures of my profession.'

The 'eye of censure,' however, won; and Williams passed on from Exeter to Highgate, to minister to the congregation in Southwood Lane. We may assume that his conduct was not very flagrant from the fact that he was warmly welcomed there. Rumours of impropriety move, in such circles, so fast, and are normally so repugnant, that had there been anything serious he would hardly have received this new call.

At Highgate the young teacher, on his own avowal, continued to be addicted to pleasure, although whether

he modified the allowance of time which he had been accustomed to allot to the other sex he does not state. Acquiring now a taste for literature, he produced some compositions that 'pleased or affected' his audience. He also took advantage of his contiguity to London to 'mingle,' as the memoir in the 'Annual Biography' says, 'freely with the world at large.' He even 'often frequented the playhouses,' wrote theatrical criticisms, and engaged in 'discussions on various important subjects.' That he entered with some thoroughness into these new scenes may be deduced from the circumstance that his characteristically Quixotic anonymous open letter to David Garrick, questioning his genius and accusing him, as a manager, of petty and detrimental jealousy, in particular of Mossop the actor, appeared in 1772. At this time the inquirer and reformer was thirty-four—a tall thin man with deep-set eyes and a large aquiline nose, wearing (whatever might have been his garb at Southwood Lane) in London, when on Bohemian adventure bent, a deep purple velvet suit.

Williams tells us nothing of the causes which led him to resign the Highgate ministry, merely remarking that, while there, he was a stranger to moral and religious controversy; but we know that it was in the Southwood Lane chapel that he preached the first of the sermons 'On Religious Hypocrisy' which were collected and published in 1774; and it has been stated that it was while he was still there, but probably at a very late period in his engagement, that he joined a number of clergymen of the Church of England who, wishing to be rid of 'certain conscientious scruples,' met at the Feathers Tavern in Leicester Fields and prepared there a petition for relief in respect to subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. But Williams himself, a born rebel, having once set his foot in the paths of suspicious investigation, quickly advanced far beyond the bulk of the company, and, embracing Deism, forsook orthodoxy altogether. According to the memoir in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' he even went so far as to prepare an expurgated prayer-book, with the co-operation of John Lee (1733-1793), afterwards Attorney-General, and John Jebb (1736-1786), the theological reformer; but his Deistic tendencies frightened these companions

away. His own account is that his chief instigator was Mr Serjeant Adair (ob. 1798), the friend of Wilkes and afterwards Recorder of London, who had been impressed by his book 'The Philosopher' (1771). Williams set forth his reforming views in a series of letters in the 'Morning Advertiser,' which were republished in book form in 1773 under the title 'Essays on Public Worship.'

It seems that his active mind had long been pondering upon educational problems; and, on getting free of the ministry, he determined to devote his energies to the training and teaching of the young. Accordingly, in 1772, he issued the prospectus of a school in Lawrence Street, Chelsea; and it speaks well for the reputation for probity and directness which he had already acquired that, in spite of his very liberal religious views, he instantly obtained a complement of scholars. Realising that a school is the better, in certain of its departments, for a woman to assist in superintendence, he took the romantic course of marrying. That he was, as an educationalist, far in advance of his time may be seen by his 'Plan of an Academy for the Instruction of Youth,' and by his 'Treatise on Education,' both issued in 1774, wherein he fused the methods of Comenius and Rousseau with ideas of his own; while the 'Annual Biography' memoir, which clearly was written by an intimate acquaintance, gives other proof.

'He experienced,' says the writer, 'far less obstruction from indocility on the part of children, than from the obstinacy and prejudices of their parents. With a commendable zeal, he insisted as a first principle that a strict adherence to truth should ever be held a sacred as well as immutable rule of conduct; and to attain this practice, setting aside all ideas of duty, in a moral sense, he proved it to be the *interest* of his pupils to avoid and abhor everything connected with a lie. To procure their confidence, and avoid even the appearance of superiority, he himself would enter into the class with them, and submit himself, like the youngest boy in the school, to the inspection and control of the usher. All personal punishments were prohibited; nothing was effected by authority alone; thus arbitrary proceedings of every kind were most scrupulously avoided.' Moreover, 'a body of laws was formed, in a general assembly; and these were enforced by means of a trial by jury, every one readily submitting to the verdict of his peers.'

Again (one seems to get a shadowy glimpse of the headmaster of Dotheboys Hall as one reads):

'It was his wish to connect and combine familiar objects with every branch of science. Thus, he is represented as teaching geography by gradual surveys of a house, a neighbourhood or a district, while the previous view of a blacksmith's shop or a kitchen garden led to a study of mineralogy and botany. The principles of drawing and mensuration were taught at the desk; but the practice of both was afterwards elucidated and endeared by little excursions, for the purpose of effecting the execution in a practical point of view.'

Williams held that globes and maps should be made by the pupils themselves.

'He deemed the age of thirteen or fourteen fitted to comprehend the doctrine of air, the construction of pumps, the science of hydrostatics, and the pursuits of chemistry. Mr Williams considered the essays of the late Dr Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, as among the most useful and entertaining books for children.' In short, 'he pursued, in practice, the plan which Rousseau had sketched from imagination'; and he thought 'that the fruitless efforts of the mind, in infancy, to understand the subtleties of grammar, the ambiguities of poetry, or the mysteries of metaphysics, were generally succeeded by an indolent acquiescence fatal to all great or manly exertions.'

There is some uncertainty as to how long the school continued to prosper. Its sudden collapse, probably in 1776, is stated in the memoirs to have been due to the death of Mrs Williams, which plunged her husband into such disorder that he completely vanished for a while, returning only to find his scholars dispersed; but, according to Williams' own autograph MS., it was the result of his sudden decision to leave her. The cessation, whatever the cause, was probably a public misfortune, for Williams, even if a little fantastic, cannot have had any but a stimulating influence on his pupils. A schoolmaster, however odd some of his devices for the imparting of information and obtaining the confidence of his boys might be, cannot be much amiss when he is written of in such words as these:

'He was a great and zealous friend to *truth*; and he constantly inculcated its maxims into the two sexes as indispensably necessary for both. He approved of civility and politeness, and considered merit and excellence entitled to an affectionate reception. But, on the other hand, the affectation of these qualities was most cordially detested by him, more especially when subservient to mean or selfish views. . . . *Politeness* he considered as a gradation of beauty and elegance in manners, seldom to be expected in young people. He also deemed this quality not unfrequently in opposition to the virtues; and often productive of great baseness, when employed to deceive women; to soothe the vices and infirmities of princes; to cajole private men out of their probity or property; and to give the appearance of benevolent condescension to selfish views. He detested deceit above all things and was accustomed to observe that, as the chameleon assumes every colour but white, so flatterers exhibit all principles but that of honesty.'

It would be interesting to have a list of the scholars at the Lawrence Street school in its too brief existence, and to see what became of them.

We have, however, anticipated a little. Before the unhappy event occurred which terminated his career as a schoolmaster, Williams had begun his activities as a maker of debating clubs. His 'Essays on Public Worship' having attracted the notice of Benjamin Franklin, then in England and full of honour as the agent for certain American colonies, a meeting between the American and the Welshman was arranged by Colonel Dawson, Lieut.-Governor of the Isle of Man. The place was the Old Slaughter Coffee House, where, 'over a neck of veal and potatoes,' Williams, Franklin, Dawson and Thomas Bentley (1731-1780), a member of the firm of Wedgwoods, founded a club of thirteen persons (no more and no fewer) mainly for the discussion of a philosophical ritual.

Among other members were Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795), the potter; James (or 'Athenian') Stuart (1713-1788), the painter and architect; John Whitehurst (1713-1788), the clock-maker and horologist; Dr Solander (1736-1782), the botanist and Keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum; and one Thomas Day, probably the author of 'Sandford and Merton.' The principal bond uniting them was an indisposition to go to

church. All shared this feeling, but probably all—and Franklin for certain—confessed to being unable to pass ‘a place of public worship on Sunday without some regret that they had not an opportunity of joining in a rational form of devotion.’ This regret, coupled with Williams’ earlier exercises in the same medium, led to the composition by himself and Franklin, after countless discussions by the council of thirteen, of a new ‘Liturgy on the Universal Principles of Religion and Morality,’ which saw the light in 1776.

It is, once the objection to its Deism is set aside, a very harmless production, a series of the most blameless aspirations, or what might be called wishes of perfection, that a Friend of Humanity or ‘Priest of Nature,’ as Franklin called his collaborator, could bring together. Here is a passage from the Litany: a General Supplication, in the utterance of which a kneeling attitude was conceded:

Minister.

O God of Wisdom, we desire ever to remember that we are thy creatures, and that thou hast formed us with capacities for virtue and happiness. May we never impair our understanding, ruin our health or disqualify ourselves for any important duties and employments, by the intemperate pursuit of pleasures. May we aspire to that state of manly liberty and that habit of self-government which will effectually promote the attainment of wisdom and virtue, and the tranquillity and true enjoyment of life. May the consideration of the shortness of life, the certainty of death, and the pleasing hope of immortality, raise us above all mean desires, and animate us in the pursuit of virtue.

People.

Amen.

Minister.

O God, the father of all mankind, may thy pure worship prevail throughout the world: may wisdom and goodness, liberty and peace, charity and happiness, everywhere abound, and thy kingdom of truth and righteousness be extended through the whole earth.

People.

We have all one Father, and one God hath created us.

Copies of the Liturgy were distributed broadcast and certain of the recipients expressed satisfaction. No less

a personage than Frederick the Great, for example, felicitated its author, although there is some reason to believe that he was confusing him with that entertaining, if somewhat scandalous, writer of light and satirical verse, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, who had recently been Minister at Berlin. Voltaire, however, who also received and read the Liturgy, was under no misapprehension; and his praise was hearty. It was a great comfort to him, he said, at the age of eighty-two, to see England encouraging toleration, and 'the God of all mankind no longer pent up in a narrow tract of land.'

It is necessary now to retrace our steps to an evening in Easter week, 1773, when, to vary the discussion on philosophical worship, Williams read to the club a paper on a project for establishing a benevolent society for authors, which might 'hold out to genius—to every man having the faculty of rendering public service—the kind and generous promise that his studies, his time, his efforts, his privations, should not leave him in misery.' 'The paper,' says Williams in his autobiographical fragment, 'was received with great marks of approbation, and the Father of the club [Franklin] requested the private perusal of it.' But at the next meeting it was decided that the consideration of a Literary Fund should be shelved in favour of a continuance of the debates on philosophical worship, from which, as we have seen, the new Liturgy was to grow. Franklin, who, says Williams, was the only man he ever saw that 'united the accuracy of a painful experimentalist with comprehensive views of social and political institutions,' was against it. The success of such a scheme, he said, was improbable, because the public were unlikely to respond with any generosity. 'Common charities,' he sententiously added, 'spring from common feelings; or, if some of them should require a few ideas and reflections, they may be easily connected by ordinary and imperfect intellects; but an Institution for the relief of misery which is so far from being intrusive or obvious—so far from pressing on the senses that it withdraws from observation—is an Institution whose object will ever be lost to the common classes of subscribers to public charities.' On the following morning, however, in private conversation with

Williams, he made use of words which 'a thousand times' afterwards rang in the enthusiast's ears. 'I see you will not give up a noble idea. I do not say you will not succeed, but it must be by much anxiety and trouble, and I hope the Anvil will not wear out the Hammer.' That was in 1773. In 1774, the trouble with America was becoming acute, and Franklin, until then much of a hero in this country, was suddenly a suspect. 'Apprehensive that his papers would be seized,' says Williams, he 'packed a trunk under his arm, and, unknown to the family where he lodged, conveyed it by boat from Hungerford Stairs to my house at Chelsea, where he remained several weeks in perfect privacy . . . until in a condition to prepare for his departure.' With this departure came the dissolution of the Thirteen Club, and shortly afterwards the domestic *débâcle* above recorded.

Left without school, club or wife, Williams threw himself into the task of revealing his new religion to his fellow-creatures. His opening service was on Sunday, April 7, 1776, in a new chapel in Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, where for some time he was to continue. The Priest of Nature, who, when he began this ministration was thirty-eight, came in for some trenchant criticism; but this he probably enjoyed. Reformers can dislike neglect more almost than abuse. What, however, he was unable to withstand was the financial debt into which he was plunged by the expenses not only of the chapel, but of the British Coffee House at Charing Cross, whither, after a while, he had migrated with his congregation, and where the 'services' became 'lectures.' These lectures were followed by a dinner, for a few of the elect, in Brewer Street, 'with excellent Madeira.' By 1780 it was found that the Deistical experiment (and the dinner) could be carried on no longer; and Williams gave up, being saved from bankruptcy only by the satisfactory subscription to his 'Lectures on the Universal Principles of Religion and Morality,' in two quarto volumes, with an engraving of Williams, after a painting by Rigaud, as frontispiece to vol. I. This portrait, which exhibits the philosopher in a graceful attitude of thought, now hangs in the council chamber of the Fund. The Lectures form a fairly complete ethical system; nothing but an increase of sweet

reasonableness could result were the world to take them to its bosom.

There is some confusion as to Williams' next experiment in club-founding. He is said, however, to have assembled one consisting of six members, who met at the Prince of Wales Coffee House in Conduit Street. The date given is 1780, but the exact year is immaterial; the important thing is that, no longer discouraged by the pessimism of the creator of 'Poor Richard,' Williams was able to revive, and from time to time discuss, his Literary Fund project. And here his autobiographical fragment becomes peculiarly interesting. The restoration of peace and the appointment of Pitt as Prime Minister seemed to promise a golden age; and Williams returned with confidence to the attack, which now took the form of interviewing men of eminence. Among them was Adam Smith, author of 'The Wealth of Nations,' who had come to town 'as one of the harbingers of the reign of knowledge,' and who was under the false impression, to be corrected by Williams, that men of letters were unproductive members of society. The meeting between the two philosophers is thus described:

'Like Bayes in "The Rehearsal," I drew out my proposal. He attended with that modest diffidence which seemed to be his character, and the appearance of which was heightened by a constitutional infirmity. When I had finished he seemed also to have finished. After some silence I begged his permission to ask him how I could introduce my propositions if his opinion were true concerning men of letters.

'He said, "My opinion is of no consequence."

"Allowing that for the moment to your modesty, you state it as a maxim of political economy."

"I believe I may."

"To invent improved modes of operation in all employments acknowledged to be productive, is it not to increase or multiply the produce?"

"Ay, that is the farmer."

"No; is not the claim of the man who thinks in all such cases as unquestionable as that of the man who executes by labour? The claim of the person who uses a spade is as unquestionable as that of the spade itself."

'He smiled.

"You may smile, but a contrary opinion seems to me

unfavourable even to labour, which it degrades into merely animal exertion moving in blind routine, and insusceptible of improvement."

"He seemed distressed from his infirmity, and from the impatience of orators in the company who soon buried the subject in words. Before we parted he said, "If you and I could have leisure to explain words, we might not disagree. Why don't you state your plan to the Prime Minister? It seems to be a political proposition of great importance."

Williams took the economist's advice; and the account of what happened between him and the three great statesmen of the day must be told in his own words. It differs very piquantly from the staid summary given in the memoirs. Mr Pitt 'displayed none of that haughtiness which had been imputed to him,' but was too busy with affairs of State to spare time for the scheme; 'he said it was an undertaking that might have important consequences, but that as Minister he thought himself precluded from it.' Leaving Mr Pitt, the enthusiast sought Mr Fox, whom he found after what had probably been a convivial night.

'Mr Fox,' he continues, 'I knew nothing of, but from his professions in Parliament, which had given me an advantageous idea of his genius and character. I therefore presumed, in my usual manner, that of a man who had nothing to hope or fear for himself, to take the liberty of calling upon him. He was getting up—at one o'clock—and though he was hurried in the offices of a slovenly toilet, some of which were performed before me, he conversed with perfect good humour, confessing that he had been alarmed [by the announcement of his visitor's name], supposing from the purity of his early life that it must have been my object to assign him some conspicuous office in my new religion. It was with difficulty I could induce him to say or hear anything serious on the subject of authors. He perused the paper I gave him and said, "Burke is the proper person to be consulted; his head is as full of metaphysics as your own."

From Fox, therefore, after making an appointment, Williams went to the student of the Sublime and the Beautiful; and the interview forms an interesting footnote to the great man's biography.

'At the appointed hour, he [Burke] entered his drawing-room, into which I had been shown, like a maniac, uttering

execrations on authors and scribblers. He approached me with such gesticulations as my Welsh constitution interpreted into hostile signals, and I prepared for battle; but the gesticulations were oratorical. He looked fiercely in my face and said, "Authors, writers, scribblers, are the pests of the country, and I will not be bothered with them!"

'His fury infected me: "Who, and what, are you, to use such language? If you hadn't been a man of letters, you would have been a bog-trotter. You are not a gentleman, and I will quit your house."

'He rolled at once like an intoxicated person receiving a blow and made an apology that he had mistaken me for another person of my name, but I was rolling downstairs like a true Welshman; and thus terminated my interview with Mr Burke.'

Burke, however, must not be judged too hastily. We must remember first that no one knows who the other Williams was or what his offence had been; and, secondly, that quite recently a certain author named George Crabbe had received from the great man a new lease of life. Burke, indeed, not only had himself helped Crabbe, but had persuaded Fox to do so.

In spite of these disappointments, and in the face of private difficulties, Williams, the least deterrable of men, continued, with a tenacity and idealism which cannot be overpraised, to foster his bantling, and to entreat others to share his affection for it. Among those whom he approached was Sir Joseph Banks, recently elected President of the Royal Society, to whom Williams' friend Solander had acted as secretary. Sir Joseph was unsympathetic, but 'an aged and experienced bookseller,' who remarked that 'nobody would meddle with authors,' promised to subscribe if Williams would include artists in his scheme. Encouraged by any suggestion accompanied by the earnest of financial support, Williams succeeded in interesting eight friends, mostly doctors, to subscribe each a guinea to defray the cost of advertising an appeal in which the obnoxious word author was omitted, or, as we should now say, 'camouflaged,' calling upon the friends of literature and art to contribute money to assist 'men of letters' and 'artists of great merit' who were in necessity.

That was in October 1786. The eight righteous men

prepared to add their guineas to that of Williams himself (who had too few all his life) were the following: Hugh Downman, M.D. (1740-1809), also a poet and dramatist; Alexander Blair; James Martin, M.D.; Alexander Johnson, M.D., who was to take the chair at the Fund's first meeting proper; Thomas Dale, M.D. (1729-1816), who afterwards acted for many years as the Fund's Registrar; Isaac Swainson; Robert Mitchell, probably the architect; and J. F. Rigaud (1742-1810), who painted Williams' portrait.

No result of any value followed the advertisement, and again the matter dropped. Then, in 1787, an event occurred which publicly proved the need for some such organisation as Williams was advocating. Floyer Sydenham, the Platonist and translator, was, at the age of seventy-seven, flung into prison for a trifling debt, and there died; and Williams seized the opportunity of building upon the old scholar's tragedy a totally new Club, dedicated solely to the furtherance of his scheme. The members, unhampered by discussions on philosophical worship, got quickly to work, and another advertisement appeared in the papers on May 10, 1788, appealing only on behalf of men of letters. The response was trifling, but the foundations were laid.

One of the most practical and useful members of the new Club was John Nichols (1745-1826), the famous printer, the compiler of the 'Literary Anecdotes,' the editor of the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' friend or acquaintance of practically every writer of his time, and a great-grandfather of one of the most remarkable of the many young poets which the late War has called forth—the author of 'Ardours and Endurances.' Another member of the Club and co-originator of the Fund was John Gardnor, who was both a parson and a painter. As an artist, he painted landscapes, including a series of Rhine views, and he also illustrated his friend Williams' 'History of Monmouthshire'; as a parson he is chiefly remarkable for uniting in the bonds of holy matrimony, in Battersea church, on Aug. 18, 1782, William Blake and Catherine Boucher.

A third member was Captain Thomas Morris, an elder brother of Charles Morris, the author of 'Lyra Urbanica,' of whose convivial muse perhaps the best-known example

is the ballad in praise of the 'sweet shady side of Pall Mall.' Thomas Morris wrote songs too, and his rendering of them was a popular feature of the Literary Fund's dinners in its early career; but to us his principal interest is that the sketch of Williams which he contributed to the 'Chronique du Mois,' is one of the few intimate sources of information as to that Don Quixote of philanthropy and liberal thought. The sketch was reprinted in 1792, as an introduction to a new edition of the hitherto anonymous 'Letter to David Garrick,' and some passages may be quoted from it.

'No Institution,' wrote the Captain, 'I ever considered strikes my mind with so much respect as the Literary Fund, as may be supposed when it is known I have studied the long and arduous part of Richard III and consented to perform it before a London audience, in order to assist it.'

Of Williams he writes thus:

'In his friendships he is warm and steady, but they have been principally with women of sense, taste and beauty; for he has always been very sensible to female charms. He is fond of company and conviviality, but he hates boisterous noise, ill-natured disputes, and the affectation of knowledge in long speeches. . . . In a long acquaintance with Mr Williams, and from an intimate and attentive observation of his strict principles, his mild and even temper and his gentle manners, I should place him among the first worthies of antiquity, if I could make him a believer in Revelation; but he positively denies its utility. . . . I wish some able writers would remove these objections; I suspect he also wishes it, as he might be handsomely provided for if he could accept the ecclesiastical patronage of a former pupil. . . .'

According to another account, Captain Morris and Williams were later completely estranged. But Williams had a facility for losing friends, due probably to an intense preoccupation with the philosophical or humane excitement of the moment, which rendered him careless of paying enough consideration to the requirements of others. In his last letter, written, when he was dying, to one of these lost associates, he says naively: 'I had once a great regard for you; why it is not continued I have forgotten.' But he went on to ask for forgiveness, which was freely rendered.

We have seen the tentative efforts of 1788-90, when the foundations of the Fund were dug. But not until May 18, 1790, when a public meeting was held, was the foundation stone, so to speak, laid. At that meeting, which Nichols persuaded Williams to convene, and over which Dr Alexander Johnson, M.D., presided, the following resolution was passed, and the Fund officially established:—

‘Upon taking into consideration that, although the humanity of the Publick has been directed by high and numerous examples to distressed talents in various professions, yet Men of Letters often suffer in poverty, and sometimes in all the extremity of want, a small number of gentlemen, in whose knowledge have occurred several most affecting instances of living misery, having formed the outlines of an Institution to support deserving Authors in sickness, distress, old age, and at the termination of life, and to give temporary relief to the widows and orphans of those who have any claims on the public from having written any useful book: [it is] resolved unanimously that a Committee of fifteen gentlemen be appointed to carry such plan into execution, and to conduct the business of the Society for one year from the present day.’

By the end of 1790 the Fund was in working order, and had relieved its first case, to the extent of ten guineas, the recipient being ‘the learned but unfortunate Dr Harwood [1729-1794], a man whose perfect knowledge of the learned languages and laborious diligence both as an oral instructor and writer scarcely procured him a scanty and precarious support.’

Let us now return to David Williams. Having seen his dream realised, he had to think again of his own livelihood; and he was busy in the preparation of a history of Monmouthshire, when the disturbed state of France led him, in August 1792, to visit Paris. For such a confirmed Friend of Humanity, this step was an unavoidable one. In Paris he was enrolled a French citizen, together with Priestley, Mackintosh, and other Englishmen of note, and was invited by Roland—not, however, as a member of the Convention, but as an independent counsellor—to contribute suggestions to the formation of the new Constitution to which Louis XVI

had given his reluctant consent. Madame Roland, in her 'Appel à l'impartiale Postérité,' contrasted Williams and Tom Paine.

'Dans le nombre des personnes que je recevois, et dont j'ai déjà signalé les plus marquantes, Paine doit être cité. Déclaré citoyen français, comme l'un de ces étrangers célèbres que la nation devoit s'empresse d'adopter, il étoit connu par des écrits qui avoient été utiles dans la révolution d'Amérique, et auroient pu concourir à en faire une en Angleterre. Je ne me permettrai pas de le juger absolument, parce qu'il entendoit le français sans le parler, que j'en étois à-peu-près de même à l'égard de l'anglais; que j'écoutois plutôt sa conversation avec de plus habiles que moi, que je n'étois en état d'en former une avec lui.

'La hardiesse de ses pensées, l'originalité de son style, ces vérités fortes, jetées audacieusement au milieu de ceux qu'elles offensent, ont dû produire une grande sensation; mais je le croirois plus propre à semer, pour ainsi dire, ces étincelles d'embrâsement, qu'à discuter les bases ou préparer la formation d'un gouvernement. Paine éclaire mieux une révolution qu'il ne peut concourir à une constitution. Il saisit, il établit ces grands principes dont l'exposé frappe tous les yeux, ravit un club et enthousiasme à la taverne; mais pour la froide discussion du comité, pour le travail suivi du législateur, je présume David Williams infiniment plus propre que lui. Williams, fait également citoyen français, n'avoit pas été nommé à la Convention, où il eût été plus utile; mais le gouvernement le fit inviter à se rendre à Paris, où il passa quelques mois et conféra souvent avec les députés travailleurs. Sage penseur, véritable ami des hommes, il m'a paru combiner leurs moyens de bonheur, aussi bien que Paine sent et décrit les abus qui font leur malheur.

'Je l'ai vu, dès les premières fois qu'il eut assisté aux séances de l'assemblée, s'inquiéter du peu d'ordre des discussions, s'affliger de l'influence que s'attribuoient les tribunes, et douter qu'il fût possible que de tels hommes, en telle situation, décrétassent jamais une constitution raisonnable. Je pense que la connoissance qu'il acquit alors de ce que nous étions déjà, l'attacha davantage à son propre pays, où il est retourné avec empressement. Comment peuvent discuter, me disoit-il, des hommes qui ne savent point écouter? Vous autres, Français, vous ne prenez pas non plus la peine de conserver cette décence extérieure qui a tant d'empire dans les assemblées; l'étourderie, l'insouciance et la saleté ne rendent point un législateur recommandable; rien n'est indifférent de

ce qui frappe tous les jours et se passe en public. Que diroit-il, bon Dieu, s'il voyait les députés, depuis le 31 mai, vêtus comme les gens du port, en pantalon, veste et bonnet, la chemise ouverte sur la poitrine, jurant et gesticulant en sans-culottes ivres ! Il trouveroit tout simple que le peuple les traitât comme ses valets, et que tous ensemble, après s'être souillés d'excès, finissent par tomber sous la verge d'un despote qui saura les assujettir. Williams rempliroit également bien sa place au parlement ou au sénat, et porteroit partout la véritable dignité.'

The story of Williams' revolutionary experiences and adventures cannot be told here. His autobiographical fragment, in so far as it concerns France and his own share in certain negotiations, is full of interest and must some day be printed. It tells us also that Rousseau held our philosopher in very high esteem. Enough now to say that Williams found the French character in debate too excitable, and could not tolerate the extreme views of the Jacobins ; so that it is not surprising that he left for England on the day of the execution of the King, Jan. 21, 1793. He was immediately to have set upon the task of completing a continuation of Hume, a work for which an expensive series of copper-plates had been made ; but his French activities had procured him, quite unfairly, but not the less efficaciously, the wrong kind of reputation for such a piece of authorship, and he was therefore, much to his indignation, relieved of the task and given a solatium. He then turned again to his 'History of Monmouthshire,' which was published in 1796 ; and we may safely assume that he renewed all his interest in the workings of the Literary Fund.

So far this institution had carried on its restricted activities in private. But it was about to come out into the open. On July 11, 1801, the special committee of the Fund, consisting of Mr W. Boscawen, Mr Reeves, Mr Pye (the Laureate), Mr Fitzgerald, Dr Symmons and the Founder, decided that it would be a good thing to issue a public record of the Fund's first decade. A book was accordingly projected under the title : 'Claims of Literature : The Origin, Motives, Objects and Transactions of the Society for the Establishment of a Literary Fund' ; and this work was issued in 1802.

The history of the Fund and its inception was told by Williams in a rambling and somewhat too controversial narrative. He covered a vast deal of ground. Beginning with a general survey of learning and literature and the position of writers in various civilisations, he passed on to the arguments for the formation of his Fund and an enquiry into charity, finally reaching the Fund itself. Ill-health had come upon him, and his pen had lost much of its trenchancy, but now and again, particularly in his attack on the defects of education, he displays some vigour. And this comparison is ingenious: 'I would not be mistaken on the subject of style. When I sit down to Locke, it is to plain food; when to Montesquieu, it is to an elegant banquet; when to Rousseau or to Burke, it is to a bottle of wine or of ardent spirits. Locke and Montesquieu express thoughts; Rousseau and Burke express passions.' Williams' share of the volume got him into trouble, for, at the first committee meeting after its publication, Sir James Bland Burges (1752-1824), a politician and amateur playwright, rose to censure it as containing 'principles subversive of religion, government and morality.' A proposal to appoint a sub-committee to examine the book was lost, and the incident closed. Williams himself said nothing, having learnt in his not too placid career that, whereas 'the spirit and language of accusation are familiar and easily rendered amusing to the public, those of defence, especially where the accused is obliged to enumerate his own good actions, have difficulties which are not always surmountable.'

The second half of this work was poetical. For the early anniversary dinners of the Fund, at the Shakespeare Tavern and elsewhere, Odes and Addresses were specially composed, and, when the meal was over, were read by the poets themselves. Whatever of oratory there may also have been has disappeared, but the effusions remain, some twenty-seven of them being collected at the end of 'Claims of Literature,' prefaced by Mr William Boscawen (1752-1811), a commissioner in bankruptcy, who was one of the most diligent of the bards, and a member of the Committee. According to the notice of Boscawen in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' he considered the Fund 'almost as one of his children.' His introduction ends thus:

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'With regard to the Poems themselves, it is hoped the candid reader will not require in compositions, all of which relate to one subject, that variety which a multiplicity of topics and occasions might be expected to produce. The writer of this Introduction is well aware how many defects may be justly imputed, and how few merits can be ascribed, to his own contributions. But he trusts that other parts of the Collection, which on the respective recitations were warmly applauded, will be found worthy of being preserved; and that his own attempts, if they obtain no credit to his talents, will, at least, secure indulgence to his motives.'

Praise is exhilarating, and though sufficient liveliness to keep somnolence at bay may have been wanting in these productions, the continued insistence on the greatness and goodness of the company perhaps had that effect. Mr Pye thus extolled the gathering in 1793:

'But lo! a Band appears in happier hour,
To rescue Genius from Oppression's power;
Ne'er drawn by party-prejudice aside,
By partial favour, or repulsive pride,
But judging merit by its sterling price,
And only foes to dulness and to vice.'

In 1795, at the London Tavern, the elder Captain Morris began his recitation with the line, 'From this loved board, unsullied with excess,' and went on to describe a vision in which the most illustrious of the needy men of genius, including 'the love-sick Otway' and 'famished Spenser,' sang to him of the Millennium:

'The reign of British cruelty is o'er,
And starving authors curse the land no more.'

Few of the poets failed to mention Otway, whose 'energetic lyre,' as Mr W. T. Fitzgerald had it, at the Freemasons' Hall in 1797, 'yields but to Shakespeare's never-equalled fire.' A year later, returning to the theme of unrecognised merit, the same gentleman generalised in these terms:

'To trace the mournful catalogue would show
The Sons of Genius are the heirs of Woe,
And that superior talents often doom
Their proud possessors to an early tomb.'

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In 1798 the poet of the evening was Lamb's 'G. D.,' who, however, hardly played the game, for by employing blank verse he deprived the diners of that hitherto punctual realisation of expectation which alone makes post-prandial poetry tolerable. In 1799, a glee for four voices was prepared by Mr Busby. In 1801 Isaac Disraeli, whose illustrious son was to take the chair on three separate occasions at the Fund's dinners, brought his address to a close with the couplet:

‘Long, long endure, by generous spirits graced,
This Festival of Charity and Taste!’

The financial report at the end of the volume showed that by Oct. 15, 1801, the Fund had expended 2240*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* in relief and expenses; that it owned 1439*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* in three per cent. consolidated bank annuities, and had a balance in hand of 218*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* The growth of its usefulness had been steady. In 1790, its first year, as we have seen, it relieved one case; in 1791, it dealt with five cases and disbursed in charity 63*l.*; in 1792 there were twelve cases, costing 106*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.* During its first twelve years it gave away 1680*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.* among one hundred and five persons, including a son of William Julius Mickle (1735-1788), author of ‘Cumnor Hall’ and translator of the ‘Lusiad,’ and the widow and children of Robert Burns.

And here it should be said that the secret of the recipients of the Fund's bounty is a very carefully guarded one, and, since the publication in 1802 of the names already mentioned, has always been so. There was, however, one exception, and we believe one only. The Rev. Dr Russell, Treasurer of the Fund, speaking at the annual dinner in 1846, said:

‘I cannot forget the first time I met this Society in this room. In the place where I now stand was Mr Canning, and opposite to me was Viscount Chateaubriand, who was then the Ambassador from France to this country. In the course of the evening, Chateaubriand got up and said that he himself had received benefit from this Society; that when he first came over to this country he came as a poor exile, and in his utmost need the Society helped him and gave him most acceptable relief. If Chateaubriand, with a magnanimity

which is above all praise, had not told it, this circumstance would have been still a secret; but, when he sat there, as the Ambassador from the King of France, he mentioned the benefit he had derived from this Society, and in the presence of him who died Prime Minister of England, publicly declared his thanks to the Literary Fund. I said that our Society was a bond that held the nations of the world together.'

The concluding pages of 'Claims of Literature' are given to a list of donations and subscriptions. Among the subscribers is printed the name of R. B. Sheridan, Esq., but with no figure to it. These words have been added by a subsequent Treasurer in the Fund's own copy of the work: 'No entry in cash book of any payment.'

The Fund to-day has no other habitation than two rooms in a large building consisting of offices; but for some time, beginning with 1805, it possessed a house—No. 36, Gerrard Street, Soho, next door to that formerly occupied by Burke. With this house began the very intimate interest in the Fund which was displayed by the then Prince of Wales, who not only made over 232*l.* a year from the revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall for the maintenance of the headquarters, but cared for the Fund to such purpose that when, as George IV, he died, he had enriched it to the extent of 5455*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* Let this not be forgotten!

It was at 36, Gerrard Street, that Williams, by a charming symmetrical dispensation, spent, as an honoured guest of his own Fund, the declining years of his life. His health was now seriously impaired; and, as he had never laid up any worldly gear, he was badly in need of such support. But, as the reader will feel assured, he was not willing to be merely an inmate, but had the felicity of watching his dream come more and more true, as he sat daily in the drawing-room 'with a marble bust of Mr Newton, an eminent benefactor of the Society, on one side of him, and one of himself in the opposite corner.' Here he received visits from the needy and inquired into the merits of each case. We can imagine him, in spite of bodily infirmities, happy at last. Mr Newton, by the way, who claimed to be a direct descendant of Sir Isaac, was so much the friend of the Fund that he bequeathed to it in 1806 an estate in Whitechapel,

which brings in about 300*l.* a year, and also the sum of 8167*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* Both busts are preserved in the Council room of the Fund; that of Williams is by Westmacott, 'a testimony of respect to the Fund.'

The house, it may be said here, was given up in 1818, and thereafter the Fund was administered only in offices; but when, about 1857, Dickens, Dilke of 'The Athenæum,' and John Forster entered upon a campaign against what they held to be certain breaches of trust on the part of the administrators of the Fund (the principal result of their efforts being the extension of benefits to include contributors to periodical literature, who had previously been debarred), they laid great emphasis on the importance of reviving the idea of headquarters, where a welcome would be given to the young necessitous author from the country, arriving in London, friendless, with his book in his hand.

Williams lived on in the Gerrard Street house, attended by his niece, until June 29, 1816, when he died peacefully and was buried in the churchyard of St Anne's close by. Inscribed either on his tombstone or on a tablet were these words:

'DAVID WILLIAMS, Esq.,
Aged 78 years.
Founder of the Literary Fund.' *

He could not have a much better epitaph. But, should amplification be needed, the following summary, by a personal friend, might be adopted:—

'The distinguishing traits of Mr Williams' character were a boundless philanthropy and disinterestedness; studious of every acquisition that forms the taste, but applying the strength of his genius to the arts of government and education, as objects of highest importance to the welfare of nations and the happiness of individuals. In his dress, elegantly plain; in domestic life, attentive to the niceties of decorum; in public, politely ceremonious; in all his manners, dignified and distinguished; in conversation, animated; in his person, tall and agreeable, having a commanding look softened with affability.'

* At the present time no trace of the tomb or the tablet remains; hence the decision of the Committee of the Fund to set up a new record.

Such was the founder of the Royal Literary Fund, which, however, did not take on regality until 1845, when, through the interest shown in its activities by the Prince Consort, Queen Victoria conferred that distinction upon it. We have seen how modest were its first benefactions; down to the close of 1918, at the end of one hundred and twenty-eight years of usefulness, it had distributed a total sum of 184,402*l.*, in the assistance of 5359 cases. That alone, apart from the commendation which the Fund has won from a long series of distinguished chairmen of the annual dinners at which its revenue is mainly provided, should convince even the most sceptical that David Williams' beneficent obstinacy had for its goal a most admirable institution. In his day the unfortunate man of letters who lacked a private patron was utterly destitute. To-day, when patrons have gone out of fashion, the Royal Literary Fund has become his first friend. It is true that the Civil List and the Royal Bounty often take note of literary claims, and the Authors' Society recently set apart some of its revenue for short-period allowances to writers whom the War impoverished. But the Royal Literary Fund is the established foster-mother of literature in distress; and its efforts in that capacity should be more widely recognised than they are. The study of the list of subscriptions and donations to this tactful, vigilant and highly organised distributor of help when most needed gives, too, much food for thought. It is well enough that the Committee should erect a memorial to their founder as a visible record of his sagacious altruism; but the finest form of commemoration of his centenary and his zeal would be contributions from all classes (successful authors and publishers not excluded) to the Royal Literary Fund's resources.

E. V. LUCAS.

Art. 2.—ANCESTOR WORSHIP AND THE CHINESE
DRAMA.

1. *The Sacred Books of China : The Texts of Confucianism.* Translated by James Legge. Part I. *The Shu King, the Religious Portions of the Shih King, the Hsiao King.* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. III.) Clarendon Press, 1879.
2. *The I-Li, or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial.* Translated from the Chinese with an Introduction, notes and plans, by John Steele. Probsthain, 1917.
3. *The Sacred Books of China.* Parts III and IV. *The Li-Ki.* Translated by James Legge. (Sacred Books of the East, vols. XXVII and XXVIII.) Clarendon Press, 1885.

It has elsewhere* been indicated as probable that the Chinese serious drama—historical and tragic—like those of Hindustan, Burma, Japan and Greece, originated in the worship of the dead, a doctrine propounded in this Review over ten years ago.† But, as no competent Chinese scholar has fully investigated this question, or produced a complete proof of what has been until now but a high probability, the present writer determined to investigate the question in the only way possible for one ignorant of Chinese—by searching through the great Chinese Classics made available for the English reader by the labours of Dr Legge and, in the case of the I-Li, by those of Dr John Steele.

The 'Shu King,' the 'Book of Historical Documents,' and the 'Shih King,' the 'Book of Poetry,' must be the starting-point for any such inquiry. The forty-eight documents contained in the former range over the period between the accession of Yao, the traditional date of which is placed at B.C. 2247 (a date not without some support from astronomical criteria) and B.C. 627. The work, as we have it, was edited by Confucius himself (B.C. 551-477). Although there are undoubtedly certain legendary elements in the earliest statements, and although the first three documents in the collection

* Ridgeway, 'The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races' (1915), pp. 266-281.

† 'Q. R.,' Oct. 1908; expanded in 'The Origin of Tragedy,' 1910.

cannot be regarded as contemporary records of Yao, his successor Shun, and Yu, Shun's successor, yet Dr. Legge did not doubt that they were historical personages. For

'Yu stands forth as the first sovereign of the dynasty of Hsia, the man who laid the foundation of the hereditary monarchy in China, its feudal sovereign who conferred surnames and lands. . . The documents,' he proceeds, 'which follow the "Tribute of Yu" may be received as veritable monuments of antiquity.'

Yu began to reign, so said tradition, in B.C. 2205; and under him lived Chou-chi, who became one of the patron saints of agriculture and the ancestor of the great Chou dynasty, of whose founders we shall soon have to speak in connexion with the earliest dramatic performance of which there is any record in China or elsewhere.

The later Hsia kings sank into debauchery until the last monarch of the dynasty was overthrown in B.C. 1766 (- 1123) by Thang, the founder of the line of Shang or Yin. This line held sway until its last ruler Chou-hsin committed suicide, after his defeat by Wu, the actual founder of the famous Chou dynasty, which lasted down to B.C. 256, (- 1122) Just as the earliest drama recorded in Hindu literature represented the battle in which Krishna overthrew his uncle Kansa, so the earliest Chinese dramatic performance of which we hear will prove to be based on king Wu and his great victory at Mu in B.C. 1123.

Next in age to the 'Shu King' comes the 'Shih King,' the 'Book of Poetry.' The earliest Chinese utterance on the subject of poetry, however, is in the 'Shu King'—the words of king Shun to his Minister of Music: 'Poetry is the expression of earnest thought, and singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression.' Again, in a preface to the 'Shih King,' sometimes ascribed to Confucius himself and certainly older than the Christian era, it is laid down that

'Poetry is the product of earnest thought. . . . The feelings move inwardly and are embodied in words; when words are insufficient for them, recourse is had to sighs and exclamations; when sighs and exclamations are insufficient for them, recourse is had to the prolonged utterance of song; when this again is insufficient, unconsciously the hands begin to move,

and the feet to dance. To set forth correctly the successes and failures of government, to affect Heaven and Earth, and to move spiritual beings, there is no readier instrument than poetry.'

It would be difficult to find a better exposition of the origin of subjective or lyrical poetry, which normally is sung to some rude instrumental accompaniment, be it but the twanging of bowstrings, and finds its vent in rhythmical movement, gestures, dancing and pantomime, illustrative of the theme of the song, maturing into full drama.

From very early times the Chinese evidently felt that rhyme was an essential concomitant of lyrical poetry, since only in a very few poems of the 'Shih King' is it lacking. The book contains 305 pieces. Of these the oldest group of five is ascribed to the Shang period, the latest being referred to the twelfth century B.C., whilst the most ancient may have been composed some five centuries earlier. The latest poems of the whole collection are assigned to the reign of king Ting (B.C. 606-586), a monarch of the Chou dynasty. All the other poems fall between Wan, the father of king Wu, the founder of that dynasty (B.C. 1122), and king Ting. According to some later Chinese writers, Confucius collected all the ancient poems then existing, and from them made the selection seen in the 'Shih King,' as we now have it, but his own words make it more likely that all he did was to make some re-arrangement in the order of the poems.

The whole is divided into four parts: The Kwo Fang, the Hsiao Ya, the Ta Ya, and the Sung. The first contains 160 pieces, mostly short and descriptive of manners and events in several of the feudal states of Chou. The Hsiao Ya has seventy-four poems sung at gatherings of the feudal princes when they visited the royal court; they were composed in the royal territory, and give pictures of the manners and ways of government. The Ta Ya contains thirty-one pieces, sung on great occasions at the court in the presence of the king. The Sung comprises forty pieces, five of which belong to the sacrificial services of the Shang dynasty, thirty-one to those of Chou, and four to the great feudal chiefs of Lu. It is with the Sung, this fourth group of songs, used at the

solemn sacrifices in the great ancestral temple, that we are here chiefly concerned.

Confucius said: 'Ever think of your ancestors and cultivate virtue.' Yet there can be no doubt that for countless generations before his time the Chinese had an intense belief in the continued existence of the spirits of their dead parents and ancestors, and that the whole course of their daily life was regulated by the worship of those ancestors, on whose benevolence they believed that their success in agriculture, fishing, and everything else mainly depended. But it is no less clear from not a few of the Sacrificial Odes that their belief in the God of Heaven was also a factor in their religious life. In the 'Ta Kwan' or 'Great Treatise'* we find an admirable exposition of the origin of ancestor-worship:

'From the affection for parents came the honouring of ancestors; from the honouring of the ancestor came the respect and attention shown to the Heads of the family branches; by that respect and attention to those Heads all the members of the kindred were kept together; through their being kept together came the dignity of the ancestral temple; from that dignity arose the importance attached to the altars of the land and grain; from that importance there ensued the love of all the people with their hundred surnames; from that love came the right administration of punishments and penalties; through that administration the people had the feeling of repose; through that restfulness all resources for expenditure became sufficient; through the sufficiency of these what all desired was realised; the realisation led to all courteous usages and good customs; and from these, in fine, came all happiness and enjoyment.'

This description of the origin of ancestor-cults holds good for the religion of countless other peoples no less than for China itself, as can be abundantly exemplified from the cults of many barbaric tribes of to-day. Thus throughout New Guinea† not only is the cult of the skulls of dead parents very important, but in West Papua a Kiwa will dig up his father's or his mother's skull and appeal to it for aid or advice respecting his

* 'Li-Ki,' vol. ii, p. 66.

† Ridgeway, 'Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races,' pp. 345, 397.

crops; while among some tribes the skulls of relatives lately dead are dipped in the blood of the pigs sacrificed at a great annual festival and are then buried in the gardens to make the crops grow.

Although we hear much of the worship of the royal ancestors in the 'Shih King' and naturally but little about that of the common people, there can be no doubt that the religious beliefs and ceremonies of all classes were alike in principle and practice, and in the case of the king and the nobles only differed in their costliness. Thus Confucius states that the duke of Chou, the great organiser under the early Chou dynasty, made both the great nobles and the common people follow the same ritual as that used in the royal worship, and that 'in the mourning and other duties rendered to a deceased father or mother he allowed no difference between the noble and the mean.' Again in the Hsiao (cap. 10) Confucius lays down that not only should a 'dutiful son show every sort of respect to his parents,' but 'in mourning for them should exhibit every demonstration of grief,' and in sacrificing to them should display 'the utmost solemnity.'

The chief festivals were the great seasonal sacrifices in spring, summer, autumn and winter. On all these occasions not only the king but all his people prayed, or gave thanks according to the season, to their ancestors, as those on whose kindly intervention depended the fertility of their lands and their prosperity in all other respects. The connexion of these great seasonal sacrifices with husbandry can be amply illustrated from many passages in the Sacrificial Odes, while no less pronounced is the complete absence of any ritual for vegetational abstractions. This is markedly so in an ode* in which king Hsuan (B.C. 826-780), 'on the occasion of a great drought, expostulates with God and all the spirits, who might have been expected to help him and his people.' He asks them 'why are they contending with him,' and details the measures taken to remove the calamity. In his sore straits the king cries to Heaven:

'There is no spirit to which I have not sacrificed; there is no victim that I have grudged. . . . I have not ceased offering

* 'Shih King'; 'Major Odes of the Kingdom,' iii, 4.

pure sacrifices; from the Border altars I have gone to the ancestral temple; to the Powers above and below I have presented my offerings and then buried them; there is no spirit whom I have not honoured. Chou-chi avails not; God does not come to us.'

He declares that the 'many dukes and their ministers of the past' give him no help.

'O ye parents and nearer ancestors, how can ye bear to see me thus? . . . How is it that I am afflicted with this drought? In praying for a good year I was abundantly early. I was not late in sacrificing to the spirits of the four quarters and of the land. God in great Heaven does not regard me. Reverent to the intelligent spirits, I ought not to be thus the object of their wrath. . . . I look up to the great Heaven; when shall I be favoured with repose?'

There can be no doubt that the spirits invoked were those of men and women once alive, whether they were Chou-chi, the ancestor of his house and a patron saint of agriculture, or the spirits of the four quarters or of the land or of the grain, for such deities as those of corn, food, wind, maize and the like are all merely secondary conceptions depending on the primary belief in the existence of the soul after the death of the body. Thus in the Food goddess, Wind god and goddess of Japan, and in the Maize-Mother and Coca-Mother of Peru and in Mother Po Klai of the Chins, we have simply ancestral spirits generalised into deities of certain departments, just as Chou-chi became the patron deity of agriculture. Since in cases where families became extinct there was no one to sacrifice to the ancestral spirits, there might be many spirits who, as they got no share of the seasonal sacrifices, might be spiteful and malignant. Accordingly one of the duties of the Minister of Instruction, in case of famine, was to see that sacrifices were offered to all the spirits, even to such as had been long neglected. This recalls a like desire on the part of the Athenians, who in order to avoid offending any spiritual power, erected altars 'to the Unknown gods.'*

In spring the king himself ploughed a field set apart for that purpose and prayed at the altars of the spirits

* 'Paus.,' I, 1. 4; cf. v, 14. 8, for a similar altar at Olympia.

of the land and grain, as we learn from the preface to one of the sacrificial Odes of Chou (iii, 5). The ode gives a delightful picture of the ancient tillage from ploughing to harvest, and in more than one respect recalls the like immortal scenes on the Shield of Achilles.

The harvest safely garnered, there came the great celebration called Shang, i.e., 'first fruits,' which were offered not to a vegetation spirit but to the ancestors, for no one dared to eat of the new crop until he had first made an offering in his ancestral temple. Similarly, at this hour, the Chins dare not eat the new food until they have laid offerings of the first fruits in their corn or vegetable patches for their ancestors to enjoy. It must also be noted that in modern China in each country district there is usually a temple with a theatre attached, where theatricals are performed at least every autumn after the ingathering of the harvest. The image of the god is brought out that he may enjoy the play which is given for his benefit as thank-offering for sending a good crop. But, as all such Chinese local gods are merely deified human beings, these performances at the harvest celebration are in honour not of any mere vegetational abstractions but of some old mandarin or chief, canonised long since.

Again, when fishing began, the king offered the first fish to his ancestors; and later, when the sturgeons arrived, he offered one of the first caught to his ancestors, and only when that was done, partook of it himself. It was probably on the occasions just mentioned that this Ode was sung: *

'Oh! In the Chi and the Chu there is many a fish in the warrens; sturgeons large and snouted, thrussas, yellow-jaws, mud-fish and carp, for offerings, for sacrifice, that our bright happiness may be increased.'

Not least of the elaborate ceremonies in honour of the royal ancestors were the musical performances and rude dramatisations. The king and any other who intended to sacrifice to his ancestors prepared himself by fasting for three days and concentrated his thought

* 'Shih King'; 'Sacrificial Odes of Chou,' ii, 6.

on the person of his ancestor—where he used to sit or stand, how he spoke and smiled, what were his cherished aims and pleasures. By the third day, had all this been duly done, the worshipper would have a complete image of him in his mind's eye. Then, on the day of sacrifice, he would seem to see him in his shrine, and to hear him as he went about his duties.

The great sacrifice in the royal temple was attended by all the feudal princes, and also by the representatives of the former dynasties of Hsia and Shang. The first object of course was to secure the 'real presence' of the ancestor and, in modern ecclesiastical parlance, to 'localise' it at his shrine. The ancestral spirits were supposed to hover between heaven and earth, not far from their former abode and the ancestral temple. The presence of the spirit desired was invoked by a functionary posted at the principal gate, but more material means were used to attract it. In the Shang period this was chiefly effected by drums, but under the Chou *régime* fermented liquor was poured out to entice them. In modern China the usual method for attracting the ancestral spirit into its tablet on the shrine is by burning incense and two lighted tapers. In the Chou period the chief victim was a red bull, slain by the king himself; and the fat was burned with southern-wood to increase the sweet savour as a further attraction for the spirits. The household as well as the royal princes and the ladies had an arduous day, while the musicians, singers and actors took a large share in the services. Six kinds of musical instruments were used, but only those fit for sacred music; odes or dithyrambs were sung, while not only meat but ale in cups of jade was solemnly offered to the spirits, but not to mere shadowy beings only visible to the eye of faith. For each ancestral spirit was not only represented by some young member of the family, but was supposed to be 'localised' in him for the time being.

The 'personators' were both male and female, according to the sex of the ancestor represented. They always sat, and retained a rigidly severe deportment; and even the most junior and unimportant member of the family, when representing an ancestor, was treated with all the respect due to that forbear. But the personators were

not merely actors, but rather 'mediums,' as they were supposed to embody the ancestral spirits; and accordingly they demeaned themselves in looks, attitude, manner of eating and drinking as the ancestors were thought to have comported themselves in life. In this they recall the actor who at a Roman funeral personated the dead man, even imitating in gesture, speech and gait any peculiarity that he might have had. Still more is this the case with the Thilakapo of the Targkuls of Assam, who not only personates the deceased in the interval between the death and the completion of the funeral rites, but is even regarded as the abode of the dead man's soul during that period. Thus in the ancestral temple the living members of the family met, as it were, its departed members face to face at a great family re-union; the living feasted the dead and the latter in their turn pronounced through their mediums blessings upon their descendants. The mediums of the Burmese Nats to this hour perform an analogous function.*

The sacrifice to the ancestors completed, the king entertained his uncles and brothers at a family feast. In one of the Odes the latter are represented as thus addressing their host:

'May your bright intelligence become perfect, high and brilliant, leading to a good end! That good end has now its beginning; the personators of your ancestors announced it in their blessing. What was their announcement? The offerings in your dishes of bamboo and wood are clean and fine; your friends assisting in the service have done their part with reverence.' †

On the day after the sacrifice the king gave a special entertainment to the personators of his ancestors. But besides the 'mediums' there were other actors who played a most important part along with the singers and musicians. With these we will deal fully later.

* These entertainments of the dead forcibly recall the *Theoxenia* of ancient Greece, where certain clans on festival occasions set apart a table for such spiritual visitants, notably in the case of Castor and Pollux. Cf. Pindar, 'Ol.,' III.

† 'Shih King'; 'Major Odes of the Kingdom,' ii, 3.

As we are here concerned with the rites performed in the ancestral temple of the Chou dynasty and especially with the dramatic performances in honour of Wu, its first sovereign, a few words must be said of its rise to power. The family traced its lineage from Chou-chi, Minister of Agriculture under Yao and Shun, and later the helper of Yu in reclaiming the inundated lands. This old chief became to the Chinese much what Triptolemus was to the Greeks—the Father of Husbandry; and he overshadowed a still earlier Father of Husbandry, Shan-nang, to whom he himself was possibly related. Hence it was that, when the Chou kings offered prayer and sacrifice to God at the commencement of spring for blessings on the crops, they associated their ancestor Chou-chi in that ritual as ‘the correlate of God,’ somewhat as the cult of Triptolemus was bound up with that of Demeter. There is no more reason for holding that Chou-chi is a purely legendary figment than for a like scepticism respecting the patron Nat of Burmese agriculture, who was a king of Ava, just as historical as Thibau, the last monarch of Burma. But, as often happens in the case of men of outstanding personality, legend declared that Chou-chi’s origin was more than mortal. Of his father we know nothing, but his mother, a princess of Thai, long barren, prayed to God, and after treading on a ‘toe-print of God,’ she conceived and bore without pang a boy. The child was immediately exposed in a narrow way, but the oxen refused to trample on him. From childhood he loved husbandry, and everything that he touched thrived. This wondrous power led to his being chosen chief of Thai. He gave his people four kinds of grain, the best of which were reserved for his family sacrifices.

One of Chou-chi’s descendants, the chieftain of Lu, at a very remote date, settled at Pin, the site of which is still shown. More than four centuries later, according to native chronology (B.C. 1427), Than-fu, one of the old chief’s descendants, moved from Pin to Chi. This chief, known in Chinese annals as the ‘ancient duke Than-fu,’ was later worshipped as king Thai when promoted by his descendants to the honours of kingship. He was succeeded by his son Chi, and the latter in turn by his son Wan. Chi had been appointed by the Shang king

as lord or duke of Chou, in the present department of Fang-hsiang; and this office descended to Wan. In Chinese documents these potentates are now termed 'Chiefs of the West'; and they are seen steadily encroaching on the monarchy, then fallen into feeble hands. Wan had settled on the banks of the Wei to the south of Chi, and soon his waxing power roused the suspicion not only of his neighbours but of the Shang king himself, to whom the chief of Kung had reported Wan's doings. The latter was thrown into prison, but soon released by means of substantial gifts made to the sovereign. Once free, Wan wreaked his vengeance on the lord of Kung, which he conquered without difficulty, and at once made its chief town Fang his new capital. The foundations for the final conquest of the monarchy were now well laid, but Wan's career was cut short by death.

Wu succeeded to his father's lordship, and soon 'the Chief of the West' was actually conquering Li, part of the royal domain. But, though the profligate Chou-hsin or Shau was warned by a faithful servant, he heeded not until in B.C. 1123 Wu resolved to take the final step and seize the throne. He first harangued his followers to justify his action and win their support. He then set out for Shang. King Chou-hsin, too late realising his peril, collected his army and marched to Mu, a tract of open country not far from his capital in the present district of Khi in Ho-nan. At dawn on the day of battle Wu reached the open country of Mu. 'In his left hand he carried a battle-axe yellow with gold and in his right he held a white ensign.' He then addressed the Master of his body-guard, and his captains, and his allies:

'Lift up your lances, lock your shields.' He proceeded: 'The ancients have said, "The hen does not announce the morning. The crowing of a hen in the morning indicates the subversion of the family." Now Shau, king of Shang, follows only the words of his wife. In his blindness he has neglected the sacrifices which he ought to offer, and makes no return for the favours that he has received; he has also cast off his paternal and maternal relations; he puts into office and ennobles only the vagabonds from all quarters. . . . Now I Fa (Wu) am simply executing respectfully the punishment ordained by Heaven. In to-day's work do not advance more than six or seven paces at a time without halting and dressing ranks.

My brave men, be vigorous! Be martial in your bearing; be like tigers and panthers, like bears and grizzly bears, here in the borders of Shang. Fall not upon those who rush to surrender, but spare them to serve our western lands. Be vigorous, for, if you are not, you will bring doom on yourselves.'

Wu with his army then crossed the ford of Mang and drew up in battle array. 'At early dawn Shau led forward his troops like a forest and drew them up in the wild of Mu. But they offered no resistance.' The victory of Mu or Mu-yeh was the great achievement of king Wu. 'When he withdrew after the battle he reared a burning pile to God, prayed at the altar of the Earth, and set forth his offerings in the house of Mu,' probably some important building at Mu converted into a temple for the occasion. 'He then led all the princes of the kingdom bearing his offerings on their various trays, and he carried the title of "king" back to Thai his grandfather, otherwise known as Than-fu, to Ki-li his grandfather and to Wan his father, because he would not approach his honourable ancestors with their former humbler titles.' Thus he regulated the service to be rendered to his father and grandfather before him.

This done, Wu proceeded to the capital of Shang. There he invested the representative of the Hsia dynasty with Ki and made the representative of the fallen house of Shang lord of Sung, restored to their places many good officials who had been removed, and relieved the common people from the evils of misrule. He then reorganised the nobility and assigned territories to them according to a threefold scale, giving offices only to the worthy and employment to the able.

'This all accomplished, Wu crossed the Ho and went to his western home. His horses were turned loose on Mount Hwa not to be yoked any more; his oxen were dispersed in the wild of the Peach forest not to be put to the waggons again; his chariots and coats of mail were smeared with blood and despatched to his arsenals not to be used again; the shields and spears were reversed and sent home wrapped in tiger-skins. His captains and commanders were then made feudal lords; and it was known throughout the kingdom that Wu would resort to arms no more.'

On reaching his capital of Fang he there sacrificed in the ancestral temple to his forefathers, and his new feudatories all took part in the ceremonies. In a discourse the king showed that Wan had not been able in nine years to unite the whole kingdom, and that it had been left for him 'the little child' to carry out his father's will. Finally he prayed: 'And now, ye spirits, grant me your aid that I may relieve the millions of the people and that I may do nothing to your shame.'*

It seems probable that it was on this occasion, when Wu was sacrificing in his ancestral temple to his father and ancestors, that the Ode or Dithyramb ('Major Odes,' i, 2) was used for the first time. The Chinese heading states that the poem shows 'how the appointment of Heaven or God came from his father to king Wan and descended to his son king Wu, who overthrew the dynasty of Shang by his victory at Mu,' and that it 'celebrated also the mother and the wife of king Wan.' It must be remembered that the tablet of a wife stood beside that of her husband on his shrine, as continued to be the case in the Imperial temple at Peking down to our own day. After a moral reflection on the mysterious ways of Heaven, the Ode proceeds in a truly Pindaric style to trace the origin of the hero who was destined by Heaven and his own virtue to dethrone the house of Shang; it describes how the prince of Chou wedded a princess of Kih, how both she and her husband were wholly virtuous, how she bore king Wan, how Wan with thought and heart served God and thus secured the great blessing, how through his excelling virtue he received the allegiance of the surrounding states: 'Heaven surveyed this lower world and its choice lighted upon Wan.' It first made for him a helpmeet in a lady from a great state north of the Hsiao 'like a fair denizen of Heaven,' who was blessed and gave birth to Wu. He too was preserved and helped and in accordance with his destiny smote the great Shang.

'The troops of Yin-Shang were collected, like a forest, and marshalled in the wilderness of Mu. We rose to the crisis. "God is with you," cried Shang-fu (the Grand Master) to the

* As the battle and what followed form the theme of a great drama, it was necessary to give the details at some length.

king. "Have no doubts in your heart." The wilderness of Mu spread out far and wide. Bright shone the chariots of sandal; the teams of bays, black-maned and white-bellied, galloped along; the Grand Master was like an eagle on the wing, helping king Wu, who in one onset smote the great Shang. That morning's encounter was followed by a clear bright day.'

But although, according to Chinese doctrine, Wu's many virtues entitled him to a long life, he enjoyed his new empire for but a brief space. Seven years after his 'crowning mercy' at Mu he died, and was succeeded by his son Chang, a child of thirteen. The boy had an advantage not always allotted to minors in having as his regent his father's younger brother, the duke of Chou, a man no less remarkable as a warrior and a legislator than as a poet, for to him are ascribed, apparently with justice, many of the sacrificial Odes of Chou. Wu had spared many of the house of Shang and had promoted their chief Wu-Kang to be lord of Sung. On Wu's death, however, Wu-Kang and his clan saw an opportunity for recovering their lost heritage and raised a formidable revolt. But the regent was quite capable of maintaining the interests of his ward and house, and, after a struggle of three years, finally crushed the rebels and put Wu-Kang their leader to death.

The kingdom being now secured, the duke thought it well to build a new capital at Lo. When it and the new ancestral temple there were completed, the young king Chang went thither to perform the winter sacrifice. He offered a red bull to Wan, another to his father Wu; and henceforward, so long as the Chou dynasty lasted, the sacrifices to its two great founders were the principal feature in the religious life of the king. In this ritual the two great ancestors were of course represented by two living 'mediums,' while, as we have already seen, a solemn ode and dance, performed by pantomimes to the accompaniment of musical instruments, were an essential part of the service. An admirable description of the ceremonies practised on such occasions is given in a dialogue between Confucius and his disciple Pin-mou Chia on Music and Ceremonial:*

* 'Li-Ki,' xvii, iii, 4.

'When we speak of music, we do not mean the notes emitted by Hwang Chung, Ta Lu and other musical pipes, the stringed instruments and the singing, or the brandishing of the shields and axes. These are but the small accessories of the music, and hence lads act as the pantomimes. In the same way the spreading of the mats, the disposing of the vessels and the arranging of the stands and the dishes with the movements in ascending and descending [the stairs], are but the small accessories of ceremonies, and hence there are the smaller officers who direct them. The music-masters decide on the tunes and the pieces of poetry, and hence they have their places with their stringed instruments and their faces turned towards the North. The prayer-officers of the ancestral temple decide on the various ceremonies in it, and hence they keep behind the representatives of the deceased. Those who direct the mourning rites after the manner of the Shang dynasty have their places for the same reason behind the presiding mourner. There are,' he continues, 'certain tunes from different districts which only tend to libidinous desires and are injurious to virtue, and these therefore should not be used at sacrifices.'

It is said in the Book of Poetry: 'In solemn unison the instruments give forth their notes; our ancestors will hearken to them.' After pointing out that a virtuous ruler can lead his people to what is right, Confucius proceeds:

'Seeing this, and after the repose of the people was secure, the sages made hand-drums and drums, the stopper and the starter, the earthen whistle and the bamboo flute—the six instruments which produced the sounds of their virtuous airs. After these came the bell, the sounding-stone, the organ with thirty-six pipes, and the large lute, to be played in harmony with them; the shields, axes, yak-tails and plumes brandished by the pantomimes in time and tune. These they employed at the sacrifices in the temple of the former kings, at festivals, in offering and receiving the pledge-cup, in arranging the services of officers in the temple according to the rank due to each as noble or mean.'*

We naturally ask, What did the pantomimes represent by their posturings and gestures and brandishing of

* 'Li-Ki,' xvii, iii, 14.

shields and axes and other appurtenances of war? The answer lies ready in the Sacrificial Odes of Chou and in the dialogue just cited. We will first take the Odes as being the earliest documents, for those with which we have here to deal date probably from the reign of king Chang (B.C. 1115-1078), the son and successor of Wu. We have just seen the young king sacrificing to his father and grandfather in the new temple at Lo; and for his strict attention to these all-important duties there is most ample evidence in the Sacrificial Odes. In the ceremonies at the great seasonal sacrifices he was assisted by the feudal princes, for one of the Odes declares that he led these personages 'to appear before his father shrined on the left, where he discharged his filial duty and presented his offerings,' doubtless first pouring out from a jade cup a libation of beer, followed up with offerings of meat presented to the 'mediums' of his father and grandfather.

As in the case of Wan, there are also a number of Odes addressed to Wu and explicitly declared to have been used in the sacrifices to him. Of these much the most important for our purpose is that termed simply the 'Wu,'* with the heading, 'Sung in the ancestral temple to the music regulating the dance in honour of the achievements of king Wu.' As has been long pointed out, no critic ancient or modern has ever disputed this account. As this ode or dithyramb consists of seven lines only, and as there are three other such odes in the next Decade, all of which are also said to have been used on similar occasions in honour of Wu, those who hold that all four poems are but fragments of one long ode or dithyramb are certainly supported by Tso's Commentary on the *Annals* of Confucius. The 'achievement' of king Wu to which the dance referred is put beyond doubt by the 'Wu' itself:

'Oh! Great wast thou, king Wu, displaying the utmost strength in thy work. Truly accomplished was king Wan, opening the path for his successors. Thou didst receive the inheritance from him, thou didst vanquish Yin and put a stop to its cruelties, effecting the firm establishment of thy merit.'

* 'Shih King'; 'Sacrificial Odes of Chou,' ii, 10.

Beyond all doubt, the 'achievements' of Wu here mentioned were his victory at Mu and his organisation of the kingdom, a conclusion amply corroborated by the other poems or fragments. The first of these termed the 'Hwan' celebrated the merit and success of king Wu. According to an old Chinese commentator this also was sung in connexion with the dance of Wu. The preface moreover informs us that it was 'used in declarations of war and in sacrificing to God and the Fathers of War.' There seems no reason for doubting, with Dr Legge, the truth of the final statement, since, as Wu was a great conqueror, he would naturally have been regarded as a patron saint or God of War, just as Kuan Ti, the famous general in the 'Wars of the Three Kingdoms' (A.D. 220), is to this hour universally worshipped in China as the god of War and as patron saint of all military classes. The poem runs:

'There is peace throughout our myriad regions. There has been a succession of plentiful years: Heaven does not weary in its favour; the martial king Wu maintained the confidence of his officers and employed them all over the kingdom, thus securing the establishment of his family. Oh! Glorious was he in the sight of Heaven, which kinged him in the room of Shang.'

Here again are clear references to the overthrow of Chou-hsin at Mu and to Wu's organisation of his new empire and its consequent prosperity.

The next piece, termed the 'Lai,' 'celebrates the praise of king Wan'; Tso, however, refers it to the Dance of king Wu, while the preface states that it contains the words with which Wu accompanied his grants of fiefs and appanages in the ancestral temple to his principal followers, doubtless after the victory at Mu, as we have seen above:

'King Wan laboured earnestly; right is it that we should have received the kingdom; we will diffuse his virtue, ever cherishing the thought of him; henceforth we will seek only the settlement of the kingdom. It was he through whom came the appointment of Chou. Oh! Let us ever cherish the thought of him.'

Lastly comes a poem termed 'Cho' 'in praise of king Wu and recognising the duty of following his course.'

According to the Chinese preface this was sung 'at the conclusion of the dance in honour of king Wu':

'Oh! Powerful was the king's army, but he nursed it in obedience to circumstances while the time was yet dark. When the time was clearly bright he thereupon donned his grand armour. We have been favoured to receive what the martial king achieved. To deal aright with what we have inherited, we have to be sincere imitators of thy course, O King' *

Here once more there is a clear allusion to the battle of Mu. This piece seems peculiarly well fitted to form the *envoi* at the end of an ode or dithyramb in the true Pindaric style. But that the 'Cho,' whether it was a separate ode or the final stanza of a great 'Wu' ode, was regularly performed separately is clear from the 'I-Li,' 'Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial,' recently translated by the eminent Chinese scholar Dr Steele, for after an enumeration of the tunes played at the different stages in a great temple ceremonial, it proceeds: 'If the duke command dancing, they perform the "Cho."'

Let us now turn to the dialogue between Confucius and Pin-mou Chia concerning the 'Wu,' 'the dance and music that king Wu was said to have made after his conquest of Shang.' There would be nothing strange in this desire to commemorate his great exploit in an ode accompanied by a pantomimic dance referring to his victory and its leading episodes. Pin-mou Chia was sitting with Confucius, who was discoursing about music and said:

'At the performance of the "Wu," how is it that the preliminary warning of the drum continues so long? The answer was, "To show the king's anxiety that all his multitudes should be of one mind with him." "How is it that when the performance has commenced, the singers drawl their notes so long and the pantomimes move about till they perspire?" The answer was, "To show his fear lest some of the princes would arrive late for the engagement." "How is it that the violent movements of the arms and fierce stamping with the feet begin so soon?" The answer was, "To show that the

* *Op. cit.*, III, 8.

time for battle had arrived." "How is it that in the performance of the 'Wu' the pantomimes kneel on the ground with the right knee, while the left is kept up?" The answer was, "There should be no kneeling in the 'Wu.'" "How is it that the words of the singers go on to speak eagerly of Shang?" The answer was, "There should be no such sounds in the 'Wu.'" "But if there should be no such sound in the 'Wu,' where does it come from?" The answer was, "The officers of the music failed to hand it down correctly. If they did not do so, the aim of king Wu would have been reckless and wrong." The master said: "Yes, what I heard from Chang Hung [the Historiographer] was to the same effect as what you now say." Pin-mou Chia rose from his mat and addressed Confucius saying: "On the long-continued warning of the drum in the 'Wu' I have heard your instructions, but let me ask, how is it that after the first delay there is another, and that a long one?" The Master said: "Sit down and I will tell you. Music is the representation of accomplished facts. The pantomimes stand with their shields, each erect and firm as a hill, representing the attitude of king Wu. The violent movements of the arms and the fierce stamping represent the enthusiasm of Thai-kung [the Grand Master]. The kneeling of all at the conclusion of the performance represents the government of peace, instituted by the dukes of Chou and Chao. Moreover the pantomimes in the first movement advance towards the North to imitate the marching of king Wu against Shang; in the second, they show the extinction of Shang; in the third, they show the return march to the South; in the fourth, they show the laying out of the Southern states; in the fifth, they show how the dukes of Chou and Chao were severally put in charge of the States on the left and right; in the sixth, they again unite at the point of starting to offer their homage to the son of Heaven [i.e. king Wu]. Two men, one on each side of the performers, excite them with bells, and four times they stop and strike and thrust, showing the great awe with which king Wu inspired the Middle States. Their advancing with these men on each side shows his eagerness to complete his helpful undertaking. The performers standing round long together show how he waited for the arrival of the princes."

In this description we have a most interesting and fairly clear picture of the earliest dramatic performance of which we have an account in any literature. It was evidently divided into six acts or tableaux, ending with the representation of the great *darbar* held by Wu when

he completed the consolidation of his kingdom, and all his vassal princes came to do homage. From the statement that certain accretions had formed round the original 'Wu,' such as the kneeling of the pantomimes and the addition of certain parts to the singing, we obtain an interesting glimpse of the way in which the primitive pantomime gradually developed into a more truly dramatic form.

The Chinese documents put it beyond question that Wu was an historical person, that he overthrew the Shang dynasty by his victory at a place named Mu, that he himself caused an epinician ode, with the accompaniment of a pantomimic war-dance, to be sung in honour of his exploits, and that in these the chief incidents in the battle and his subsequent settlement of his kingdom were dramatically portrayed. They show, further, that after his death not only was his own cult along with that of his father one of the most important elements in the worship in the royal ancestral temple at the great seasonal sacrifices, when the king prayed or gave thanks for harvest, but that the chief feature in this cult was the dramatic representation of his great 'achievements.' At this performance the old king's spirit was supposed to be present, temporarily 'localised' in one of his descendants. Nor were the Chinese peculiar in regarding the actor as the 'medium' of the dead person represented. It has been shown elsewhere* that the priestesses who perform the *Kagura* dance in Japanese Shinto temples are regarded as 'mediums,' as are also the actors who perform the parts of the Burmese Nats, while in the sacred dramas of Hindustan the parts of the divine personages must be taken by Brahmans, since 'for the time being the actors are the gods' and the people have to bow down to them. We have also seen that amongst the Tangkuls of Manipur the Thilakapo not only personates one recently dead between the actual death and the final sending away of the ghost, but is actually treated during that time as the embodiment of the deceased person's spirit, which in its turn recalls the part played by the *mimus* at the funeral of a Roman. As Thespis only whitened his face or wore white masks I

* Ridgeway, 'Dramas and Dramatic Dances,' etc., p. 385.

have suggested that he did so because he represented the ghosts of the heroic dead whom he personated in his plays.

But the 'Wu' did not stand alone in Chinese literature. Indeed there is every reason for believing that such pantomimic war-dances were very common in ancient China, since there is a special term for discriminating a war-dance from an ordinary dance of peace. In Japan the same seems to have been the case. Thus at the services in honour of the Mikado's ancestors in his family temple at Kuga, the very spot in which the Japanese drama took its full shape, a pantomimic war-dance was performed, after the sacrifice and feast, by some of the Imperial body-guards. Now, as at this very hour it is the dramas which embody particular episodes in their history that have a special attraction for the Chinese in every village of the empire, we may safely conclude that Chinese serious drama took its rise, as did the Japanese far later, in the pantomimic dithyrambs forming part of the ritual in the worship of the mighty dead.

It must not, however, be imagined that such operatic dramas are peculiar to China or Japan. In the eleventh century of our era the great Chola king of Tanjore, Rajaraja I, built a beautiful Siva temple in his own honour and therein endowed a troupe of actors, who had to perform periodically the 'Rajaraja-nataka' or 'The play of Rajaraja,' which doubtless celebrated that monarch's exploits, as those of Wu were commemorated in the dramatic dance called by his name. Probably the nearest parallel to such in our literature is Shakespeare's 'King Henry V,' which is merely a succession of scenes presenting Henry's triumphs in France, as is more clearly set forth in the title of the older play on which it was based, 'The Famous Victories of King Henry the Fifth.' The nearest parallel in Greek literature is the 'Persæ' of Æschylus; for, though it is not named after a king, it is nevertheless not a play, but really a great epinician ode in praise of the triumph of Athens herself over the Persian monarch.

But it is not merely triumphs and victories that are the themes of early dramas any more than they are in times more advanced. Appalling catastrophes and striking reversals of fortune, especially in the case of the noble and the good, have in all ages been favourite

subjects for ballads, epics and dramas, China and Japan forming no exception to this rule. Thus every year, wherever Shiah-Muhammadans are found, from the Ganges to North Africa, the defeat and death at Kerbela on the Tigris of Hussein 'Prince of Martyrs,' the grandson of the Prophet, is commemorated in those moving *tazias* which find such close parallels in the Passion-plays and Miracles of mediæval Christendom and in the Osiris Passion-play of ancient Egypt. It is therefore not surprising that the earliest dramatic performance known in Greek literature was the tragic dance referring not to the triumphs but to the sorrows of Adrastus, with which the Sikyonians honoured their ancient king at his tomb in the market-place. As Adrastus is said to have lived in the century before the Trojan War (B.C. 1184), his cult may have thus synchronised with the last period of the Shang dynasty and been at least fully established before the days of Wan and Wu. But there is no need to assume, as some might do, that either China borrowed from Greece or Greece from China, inasmuch as such honouring of the dead is world-wide. But, since, as the Chinese well put it, this arises in the affection for parents, a feeling (at least so far as the mother is concerned) common to the whole human race and shared even by some of the lower animals, we may safely conclude that neither in China nor anywhere else did Tragedy arise from the worship of seasonal or vegetational abstractions, but in the veneration and worship of the dead.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

Art. 3.—PROBLEMS OF THE NEW PALESTINE.

1. *England and Palestine*. By Herbert Sidebotham. Constable, 1918.
2. *Syria: An Economic Survey*. By Dr Arthur Ruppin. Provisional Zionist Committee, New York, 1918.
3. *Land Tenure in Palestine*. By F. Oppenheimer and J. Ettinger. Jewish National Fund, The Hague, 1918.
4. *Palestine: The Organ of the British Palestine Committee*. Vols. I to IV. Manchester, 1917-19.
5. *The Zionist Review: The Organ of the English Zionist Federation*. Vol. I. London, 1918.
6. *Syria and the Holy Land*. By Sir George Adam Smith. Hodder & Stoughton, 1918.
7. *The True Boundaries of the Holy Land*. By Samuel Hillel Isaacs. Chicago, 1917.
8. *Palestine Exploration: Past and Future*. By W. Flinders Petrie. Constable & Co., 1918.

THE creation of every new State, each transfer of sovereignty that arises out of the late war, will in itself be a problem, relatively simple; but out of every such creation, every such transfer, there will arise a series of problems that demand solution, the simplest of which will be of considerable complexity. Which group of problems will prove the most difficult of solution it is impossible to say; the answer depends on many factors which cannot be rightly estimated in advance. Thus, whether the Palestine settlement will be an easy one or not, time alone can show. Viewing it, however, objectively to-day, one can indicate and discuss the numerous embryonic difficulties that are already discernible.

The first of the group of problems that demand satisfactory solution, if the future of the land and of its peoples is to be secured, is that of the government or administration to be set up and to remain in control for the first years, at any rate, of the new era. This is, in fact, one of the most complicated and difficult of all the problems. If the country had a homogeneous population it would be easier. But it has not. The people of the land are divided into at least three main classes, widely different from one another in civilisation, in faith, in economic development, in promise for the future. A

further complication is due to the undertaking by the British Government, countersigned by the principal Allies and the United States, to use their best endeavours to establish in Palestine a national home for the Jewish people, while safeguarding the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities in the land. Even the problem of the Holy Places affects the question of system of government, for the rights of the non-indigenous communities in respect of these must also be safeguarded.

If Palestine were a purely Moslem land, inhabited entirely or almost entirely by Arabs, the problem would be relatively simple; but this is not the case. If, again, the intention were to create a Jewish State more or less on the same lines as those of other national States, the problem would not be much more difficult; but such is not the intention. Lastly, if foreign States had no special interests in Palestine apart from those of commerce and of their subjects resident in the land, the problem would be much simplified; but these special interests are only too prominent. It follows that, while recognising the fundamental differences between the various sections of the people and the futility of any attempt to remove those differences, an administration must be set up which will safeguard all the legitimate interests of those populations, delegate to them as wide a system of self-government as is practicable, and yet prevent them from encroaching on one another or obtaining an undue advantage, while at the same time securing the protection of, and free access to, the Holy Places of the three faiths which Palestine enshrines.

It will be granted that there must be a Suzerain or protecting Power. Its first duty will be to appoint an administration charged with all the functions of government that concern the country as a whole and are independent of racial or religious distinctions. This Government will be neither Jewish nor Moslem. If it is British, in accordance with the wishes of the population of the country and of the Jews outside, or, as an alternative, American, it will be neutral as between those rival faiths, and on this account ideally fitted to take charge of those Holy Places—the Christian

—to which there are, as it were, conflicting claims. Only such a Government can hold the balance even between Latin and Greek in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Central Government might resemble generally that of a British Crown Colony, except that it should draw its personnel, so far as possible, from the population of the land. It would naturally handle those affairs which concern two or more national sections of the population. To deal with other matters—religion, education, poor relief, the raising of taxes, etc.—national units enjoying the widest powers of autonomy should be created. This national autonomy would not be geographical but cultural; that is to say, all the Jews of Palestine, no matter how scattered or in what surroundings they find themselves, would be grouped together in a national unit; but in those cases in which practically the whole of a group of population is Jewish or Arab—the individual Jewish colonies, for instance—the local government would be Jewish or Arab, as the case may be. This would be inevitable under any system of local self-government; for, if nine-tenths of the population of a town or village is Jewish, under no system of local government in which the population has any voice can the government fail to be Jewish. If the minority thought it ran any risk, there would always be the Central Government as a means of protection. This scheme of self-governing national units would be no innovation in Palestine or the Near East. It would be only a natural development of the Millet system under Turkey, which in practice in Palestine became the system of autonomous government under which the Jewish colonies flourished before the outbreak of War. This system, as described in 'Palestine—The Rebirth of an Ancient People,'* is as follows:

'The *Waad*, or local council, has a wide scope. It is elected annually by all adult landowners and resident tax-payers of three years' standing, independent of sex. To this council the Turkish Government assigns full powers of local administration. The Central Government, in fact, takes no

* By A. M. Hyamson, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1917.

further interest in the colony beyond requiring annually the taxation for which it is liable. . . .

The *Waad* consequently has far greater powers and responsibilities than a town or district council in Europe. The registration of births, marriages, and deaths, and of titles to land, rests with it. It is responsible for the division of both the local and central taxation among its constituents. Schools, synagogues, public hygiene, including the services of physician, chemist and nurse, water-supply, public baths, and many forms of public charity, are under its control. It concerns itself also with the quality of food offered for sale.

The Council acts through a number of committees, which deal with such matters as finance, education, and public security. An arbitration committee settles any disputes which may arise between settlers. So successful have these arbitration committees been in securing the general confidence that their services are often sought by Arab litigants, not local residents, who are more willing to accept the decisions of these Jewish committees than those of the Government Courts appointed for the purpose of trying their causes.

Even before the form of administration of the new Palestine is determined, a decision will have to be reached regarding the territorial limits of the State, for these are not beyond question. A literature is arising round this subject which can be discussed from the historical, the economic and the military point of view. On the first aspect much light is thrown by the late Mr Isaacs' 'The True Boundaries of the Holy Land.' Mr Sidebotham, in his 'England and Palestine,' as might be expected of 'A Student of War,' devotes considerable attention to the question from the point of view of defence. The boundary commission that will undoubtedly be set up should also consult 'A Note on the Boundaries of Palestine' in 'Zionism and the Jewish Future' (Murray, 1916), and Nos. 13, 14 and 16 of Volume iv of 'Palestine,' which contains a series of well-informed articles on this subject.

The historical boundaries of Palestine have varied widely. The Kingdom of Israel, at its zenith, extended relatively far to the north and included within the Israelite sphere of influence Damascus and a portion of Syria. At another time the Jewish Kingdom was

confined almost to the Judæan hills. The Palestine of 'the Promise' was to extend to the Euphrates; but, except during the reign of King Solomon, this promise cannot be said to have been fulfilled. The limits that have become proverbial are 'from Dan to Beersheba'; and these, translated into modern geographical terms, may be accepted with slight extensions as adequate for the new Palestine. The ancient Dan lay in a line with the Phœnician port of Tyre; Beersheba is a few miles north of the Egyptian frontier. To the north of Dan lies the Lebanon Province, with well-defined southern boundaries. Between Lebanon and Palestine there is no room for another State to exist; there can, therefore, be no question that the boundaries of the two States should march together. The Lebanese are satisfied to dwell within their own limits; they have no desire to expand southwards. The northern limits of Palestine should therefore be drawn where those of the existing Lebanon Province end.

A suitable northern boundary would start from the mouth of the Nahr-el-Auwali, a few miles north of Sidon (Saida), running south-east and skirting the southern extremity of the Lebanon and of Mount Hermon, to a point level with Tyre but about one degree east of that city. On the west the boundary is of course the Mediterranean, and on the south the Egyptian frontier, including within the limits of Palestine, however, the port of Akabah (the ancient Ezion-Geber) at the head of the Red Sea, a port just outside the Egyptian frontier which is of little if any value either to Arabia or to Egypt, but which is economically essential to the Palestinian State, inasmuch as it is its maritime gate to the east. The only boundary remaining to be settled is that on the east. Here the natural frontier of Palestine touches the desert; but against the adoption of this limit there are (1) the natural desire of the Arabs for a secure connexion between the Damascus region and the Hedjaz, and (2) the Hedjaz Railway, which, having been built as an act of piety mainly to serve religious ends, has acquired almost a religious sanctity in the eyes of the Moslem. For these reasons it would be very unwise to attempt to extend Palestine to the desert. The boundary should be drawn some distance west of the Hedjaz

Railway on a line that will have to be settled by the Boundary Commissioners on the spot.

The discussion of the eastern boundary of Palestine leads on naturally to a consideration of the mutual relations of the new Arab and Palestinian States. Opponents of the idea of a Palestinian State have in the past been divided into three classes. One group has denied the existence of Palestine except as a portion of Syria, arguing that Syria and Palestine are one and indivisible. The second school has looked upon Palestine as an Arab land, and therefore to be incorporated in the new Arab State or States that are to be outcome of the War. The third school has admitted the individuality of Palestine and recognised its importance from the point of view of British strategy; it agrees that, if only for military reasons, the country must be brought within the British sphere, but, heedless of the claims of the land to preserve its individuality, favours its annexation to Egypt. All these schools belong to the past. The individuality of Palestine has been recognised and confirmed; and, whatever its fate, it will be independent equally of Syria, of the Arab Kingdom and of Egypt. This arrangement has been accepted by all the Powers concerned. Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, in announcing that the future Palestine is to be the national home of the Jewish people, declared at the same time for the separate existence of Palestine. The authorities of the Arab Kingdom, through the mouth of the Emir Feisul, the son of the King of the Hedjaz and the commander-in-chief of his forces, have also recognised the claims of an independent Palestine.* The boundaries between the two new States have not been drawn, but that Palestine lies outside of the Arab Kingdom and sphere of influence is accepted.

There is, however, a possibility of trouble arising with the Arabs who are living in Palestine as their

* See, for instance, the message sent by the King of the Hedjaz on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, the message sent by Feisul to the Jewish gathering held at Jerusalem to celebrate the first anniversary of the British declaration in favour of the realisation of Zionism, and the interview given by him on his arrival in England ('Times,' Dec. 12, 1918). See also the statement by Mr Herbert Samuel at a dinner to the Zionist Commission on Oct. 28, 1918.

home. This question, if the terms of the undertaking of the Allied Governments to the Zionists are to be fulfilled, at first sight presents difficulties. Nevertheless, but little should remain of these if they are handled with courage, statesmanship and good faith. In the first place, fortunately, there is plenty of room in Palestine for the whole of its present population and for another four millions or so in addition. Consequently there is no reason why any new immigration that is likely to take place for at least a generation should in any way press upon the present inhabitants, whether Arab or Jew. The Arab population is estimated at less than 600,000, of which scarcely a sixth is Christian. This population has been practically stationary in numbers for the past generation and longer, on account both of poverty and of emigration, the latter being to some extent a consequence of the former. The poverty and the other causes of past emigration will, it is hoped, cease under the new conditions that will be established in the country. On the other hand, there will be a new incentive, and a strong one, for a Moslem Arab emigration from Palestine. Close at hand there is to be a Moslem Arab State, organised under its own rulers, free from Turkish oppression and misgovernment. This State should of itself be a magnet to Moslem Arabs settled in other lands. Apart from its natural attraction, the new State will need an increase in population—men and women akin to the present inhabitants, who will help their kinsmen of the Hedjaz and other districts of the new kingdom to build up, or rather rebuild, an Arab State and a centre of Arab culture.

It should be unnecessary to say that no Arab will be dispossessed or forced by any means to leave his home. If he does so, it will be of his own free will; and his removal will leave no cause for bitterness. On the other hand, if the Jew takes his place, it will be only after fair payment to his predecessor. And it will be the Jew who will step into his holding, for, as the experience of centuries shows, the Jewish people alone can supply colonists to Palestine. Alarm, real and assumed, has been aroused in certain quarters by a threat that Palestine as a Jewish home-land means the forcible expropriation of the Arab population. It has been shown that such

an expropriation is quite unnecessary, and that it is not desired by the leaders and spokesmen of the immigration. Even if the Jewish settlers desired to take possession of all the land of the country and to evict the present occupiers, they would lack the power to do so. The declaration which promises to establish in Palestine a national home for the Jewish people safeguards the rights of the non-Jewish population already there, 'it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.' Any attack by the Jews of Palestine on these non-Jewish communities would involve the revocation of the promise.

There is one other subject which has aroused uneasiness, not unnatural, on the part of the Moslem Arabs and of the Moslems generally. That is the question of the Holy Places of Islam and especially of the Mosque El Aksa, which is built on the site of the Temple. This subject troubles the Arabs of Palestine; nor is it merely a local or even an Arab concern. The welfare of the Moslem Holy Places is of religious interest to the whole Moslem world. Any blow struck at the sacred building on Mount Moriah would reverberate from one end of Asia to the other and across Africa from the Suez Canal to the Atlantic shore. But the fears that have been aroused on this subject are quite groundless. Under the scheme of administration suggested in the earlier part of this essay, the care of the Moslem Holy Places would be entrusted to the Government of the Moslem Arab nationality in Palestine, or, if it were preferred, to the neutral Central Government that is to be set up. In either case the religious interests of Islam would be safe. In the former they would be in the keeping of a Moslem community; in the latter the responsibility for them would rest with a neutral Power, probably the British, which, if only out of consideration for the millions of its own Moslem subjects, might be trusted to safeguard all Moslem rights.

But the Jews have no designs on the Temple site. The restoration of the Jews to Palestine, which is imminent, will not be a religious restoration, nor will it be the miraculous restoration which has been foretold, to which Jews, as a religious body, look forward.

The Zionist movement is essentially a secular, a nationalist movement. Under the blue-and-white banner men of Jewish blood, whether orthodox, reformed, or agnostic, may march side by side without abandoning or compromising one iota of their opinions. The agnostic Jews are nationalist Jews and nothing else; the coming return satisfies their ambitions to the full, and the prospect of the rebuilding of the Temple has no attraction for them. The orthodox Jew looks forward to the fulfilment of prophecy and the re-establishment of a theocracy in the Holy Land. To him the present moment has no relationship to his ideal; for that he must await God's good time; then and then only will the Temple be rebuilt and the old conditions restored. The religious side of his life and thought is not affected at all. But he has also a secular side. He is a nationalist Jew as well as a religious Jew; and it is as a nationalist that he desires to return to Palestine. Perhaps also he wishes that, when the real Restoration at length comes, he or his children shall be close at hand.

The Moslem Holy Places will be as secure for Islam as they were under Turkish rule. The Jews also need have no fear so far as their few Holy Places are concerned. There remain those of the Christians, to which neither Moslem nor Jew lays any claim. Nevertheless, these may cause more trouble than either of the two other classes, or even than both combined. For there are the rival Christian communities, more bitter in their hostility to one another in these matters than to either Moslem or Jew. It was this question of the Christian Holy Places that was one of the direct causes of the Crimean War; it was this same question that led repeatedly to quarrels and bloodshed in Palestine and to tension and unpleasantness in the chanceries of Europe. It was this perpetual religious rivalry that necessitated a continuous Moslem guard within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in order that blood might not be shed there. The balancing of the claims of the various religious communities or sects is a difficult matter, but it will fall to the Central Government. Latin, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Copt, Abyssinian—all have overlapping claims. The right of decision cannot be given to representatives of any one of the

contending communities. Hitherto this office has been held by a Moslem Power, but the Turk is gone. The Jews have no desire to fill the seat of judgment as between Latin and Greek; it is only the Central Government, perhaps with the aid of a mixed Commission, that can be entrusted with this difficult task.

Mention of the Holy Places brings us to the subject of Jerusalem. Here we have a city that is in itself one of the world's most precious monuments. To the religious man, to the archæologist, to the lover or admirer of the East—to all these classes Jerusalem is precious. The Holy Places of Jerusalem must be safeguarded; its priceless archæological treasures must be discovered and preserved; and in the interests of the picturesque, the oriental character of the city must be retained. Above all, it must be cleared of the rubbish of ages, cleansed of the filth of centuries, and rendered fit for decent human habitation. But there are two Jerusalems. Outside the walls during the past half-century, mainly through Jewish agency, a new Jerusalem has grown up, cleaner, healthier and more habitable than the old. Simultaneously the better classes of the population have gradually migrated from within the walls, leaving behind the poverty-stricken, the diseased and the residents in the religious houses. These remain huddled up in their poverty and their dirt, but, until they are removed, the archæological treasures that lie buried beneath the stones of the City will remain unapproachable; until the housing problem of the City has been dealt with in most drastic fashion, Jerusalem must remain a centre of disease.

The problem of sanitation in Jerusalem is a complex one, but with one stroke it can be solved. The remedy will appear drastic, but the problem demands a radical solution, and heroic measures alone will meet the occasion. The solution advocated is to remove the present population to new garden suburbs to be created outside the walls, in close proximity to the suburbs that have come into existence in the course of the past forty years. One class of the population alone should be permitted to remain behind, namely that which is attached to the different religious foundations within the city. The remainder of the population having been removed, and

the gap in the wall near the Jaffa Gate, made in order to provide admission to the German Emperor on the occasion of his visit twenty years ago, filled up, the work of cleansing and clearing the City should be taken in hand. The slums, the dilapidated habitations, should be cleared away except in the case of buildings of historical importance. Tracts thus laid bare should be placed at the disposal of the archaeologists, with freedom to dig at their will, subject to full regard being given to religious susceptibilities. The land no longer covered with buildings or being worked by the archaeologists should be planted out as gardens. Then we should have within the walls of Jerusalem a region half garden, half archaeological preserve, open to the public as a park, but no longer as a place of residence. The Holy Places, the historic buildings, the mosques, the churches, the synagogues and the religious houses would remain intact; but, instead of being as they are now, half-smothered amid the abodes of squalor, each would stand by itself in a garden. The example set by the Moslems with their Mosque of Omar, a jewel of man's creation in a setting of natural beauty, would be followed in respect of all the other buildings.

So far as the Jews are concerned, proposals have already been made in one respect on similar lines. To the Jews the principal Holy Place is the Wailing Wall, the fragment of the Wall of the Temple at which the Jews perpetually mourn for their lost glories and pray for the restoration of them. This, the one place of pilgrimage for Jews within the walls of the City, is, like so many other places in Jerusalem, the centre of most unpleasant surroundings. The Jews have long desired to acquire the neighbouring property, if only to secure in perpetuity free access to the Wailing Wall, an access which has sometimes seemed in jeopardy. This desire, never satisfied, has never been abandoned. Within recent months, since the British occupation, proposals to acquire the property have been revived, on this occasion with the intention of demolishing the existing buildings and of laying out the site as a garden with shelters and seats for aged and infirm worshippers.

Incidentally these proposals to evacuate the population of Jerusalem, and to resettle it in healthier and

pleasanter surroundings within a short distance of their old homes, would go far to solve another of the problems which centres especially in the Holy City. The Jewish population of Palestine falls clearly into two classes, the old *Yishub* and the new. The latter comprise for the most part the families of the settlers who have come to the country in the course of the past thirty or forty years. It is they who have been the instruments of the wonderful regeneration of the land which the past generation has seen. They have settled for the most part in the country districts, where, redeeming the wilderness, they have founded flourishing agricultural settlements, and in the new towns of Jaffa and Haifa. A part of the new *Yishub* is to be found also in Jerusalem, its members supporting themselves by the industries of the town; but they live in the Jerusalem without the walls. Inside Jerusalem, for the most part steeped in poverty, and in the other Holy Cities, Tiberias, Safed and Hebron, are to be found the old *Yishub*, the Jewish population of Palestine that has for generations lived on the *Chaluka*, the charity of their friends and coreligionists in other countries. Unlike the new *Yishub*, which has come to Palestine to live, the old *Yishub* consists of men who have come to Palestine to die, and of their children and more remote descendants who, born in an atmosphere of charity, have continued to live in it. Not that this class spends its life in idleness. It devotes its days and much of its nights to study. Unfortunately, this study brings no return—not only no material return, but no appreciable addition to the sum of human knowledge. The Holy Cities of Palestine have in fact provided a huge alms-house for European Jewry, an alms-house whose inmates devote the remaining years of their lives to study and prayer.

If this population consisted entirely of the aged, little harm would be done, provided that the doles allotted to them were so increased and equalised as to enable their recipients to enjoy the minimum of comfort. But their children, who live with them and share their poverty and their life, raise another problem. The removal of the younger generation to new surroundings and the provision of opportunities to live self-respecting, self-supporting lives, would help materially to solve one

of the most serious of the problems of the new Palestine. The problem is by no means insoluble. The material on which the reformer will have to work is not unpromising. The new era opened by the British occupation and the British promise to the Jews of the world, confirmed, as it speedily was, by the arrival of the Zionist Commission in Palestine and by the opportunities presented of ameliorating the Jewish position, of breathing a new spirit into the old *Yishub*, have had immediate effects. The decision to remove the Jewish orphanages from Jerusalem to the new colonies is in itself a not unimportant step towards the regeneration of the old *Yishub*. From the old, the morally and physically impossible, surroundings they are removed to healthy country centres where they are nourished physically and morally; and at the same time, without undermining their devotion to their faith, they are trained to be self-supporting citizens of their country. The problem of the old *Yishub* will in due course solve itself. The older generation will die out; the younger will become merged in the new *Yishub*, the people on whom the entire future of the land rests.

But the future of the Palestinians of all classes and of all faiths, as well as of the would-be Palestinians—the immigrants who are to come in to regenerate the land—rests to a large extent on the land and on its availability for cultivation. The land of Palestine falls into several categories. These are: (1) the Crown lands; (2) the waste lands, possession of which the Crown also claims; (3) the *Wakf* lands, belonging to the religious corporations; (4) the holdings of the peasant cultivators; and (5) land owned by the great landlords, in many cases absentees, who are land-speculators as much as land-owners. An additional category has come into existence within recent years, viz.: the land owned by the Jewish National Fund, purchased and held as the inalienable possession of the Jewish people and rented to individuals, co-operative societies, and public institutions. A fair proportion of the five million acres of agricultural land which Palestine is estimated to contain is comprised in the waste and other Crown lands. Perhaps the designation 'waste land' is hardly appropriate, for the land in question is not so much desert as deserted

—land that has deteriorated through lack of cultivation, but could be reclaimed without much difficulty or expense.

The extreme cases are the swampy tracts on the coast between Acre and Gaza, the marshes in the neighbourhood of the Lake Huleh, and the land that has been smothered by the sand of the seashore or of the desert. There are also the large tracts, often within easy distance of water, that need irrigation before they can again be put under cultivation, and the lands in the extreme east and south-east which have been abandoned to the incursions of the Bedouin. In treating the land problem of Palestine in order to fit the country to support an increased population, two of the aforementioned categories, the *Wakf* lands and those which are worked by peasant proprietors, may be ruled out at once. It is not proposed, nor is it necessary or desirable, to interfere with the holders of either of these categories. There remain the Crown lands, the waste lands, and the lands of the great landlords, which together comprise something like eighty per cent. of the five million acres under consideration. The Crown and the waste lands which will pass into the possession of the new Government will be available for any purpose which that Government may in its wisdom design for them. The land of the great owners or speculators will also, if it is required for the welfare of the country, have to be made available.

The foregoing are the principal problems that will need the immediate attention of the authorities who will, at the close of the Peace Congress, take over the responsibility for Palestine. The list is not exhaustive; but if these difficulties, none of which is insuperable, are treated resolutely and on statesmanlike lines, any anxieties they may suggest will be found on a close acquaintance to fade away, and the path of the regenerator of the Holy Land will be discovered to be far easier than it appears to be. Palestine is necessarily an agricultural country; but, even as an agricultural country, there can be a great future before it, for it is not to be forgotten that, as such, it has also a great past.

‘The whole coastal zone (and the river valley) may become a garden of tropical fruits and vegetables. All that is necessary

is a proper system of irrigation and the establishment of warehouses and transportation facilities. Excellent markets for Syrian oranges, lemons, grapes, figs, pomegranates, apricots, melons, tomatoes, artichokes, etc., could be found in Egypt and all the Mediterranean ports. The mountain district can be devoted to olive and pistachio trees, etc. The plateaus may be utilised for grain cultivation. Finer grades of tobacco may be grown in Syria. Agricultural industries such as the manufacturing of cane and beet sugar and the preserving and desiccating of fruits can become an important activity, as well as the production of alcohol from durrha, figs, carobs, etc.' ('Syria: An Economic Survey,' pp. 85-86).

Such is the forecast of Dr. Ruppin, than whom no one is better qualified to estimate the possibilities of the land. If his expectations are realised, Palestine has a future as well as a past; and the Power to which will be allotted the protection of the new nation during its childhood and youth need enter on its glorious task with no doubts and no misgivings.

ALBERT M. HYAMSON.

Art. 4.—THE 'LIFE AND LIBERTY' MOVEMENT. ✓

1. *Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Church and State.* S.P.C.K., 1916.
2. *Report of the Committee of the Representative Church Council on the Report of the Archbishops' Committee.* S.P.C.K., 1918.
3. *Life and Liberty for the Church of England: The Life and Liberty Movement.* By the Rev. W. Temple. S.P.C.K., 1917.
4. *When the Church is Free.* By the Council of the Life and Liberty Movement. S.P.C.K., 1918.
5. *The Reports of the Archbishops' Five Committees of Enquiry.* S.P.C.K., 1918.

IN the year 1913 the Archbishops of Canterbury and York appointed a committee 'to enquire what changes are advisable in order to secure in the relations of Church and State a fuller expression of the spiritual independence of the Church as well as of the national recognition of religion.' The report of this committee, published in 1916, contains a large amount of valuable matter. Most important is the proposal that Parliament shall pass an 'Enabling Bill,' giving power to a Central Church Council to formulate measures for the government of the Church, which shall in due course become law, unless Parliament refuses consent. A schedule to the proposed Bill contains a new constitution for the Church, developed out of existing institutions. Partly because of the war, and partly because the Report is neither clear nor consistent, the proposal fell rather flat, and was in some danger of being forgotten by the public; while among those who favoured the idea of the Enabling Bill there was a feeling that some details of the constitution were inadmissible. It was the moment for the enthusiasts to intervene; and they were not lacking.

In June 1917, a letter addressed to the papers, over five well-known signatures, invited Churchmen to meet in the Queen's Hall on July 16, and pass resolutions in favour of the scheme set out in the Report. The meeting was held; speeches were made by Dr Temple and others; and a 'Fellowship' was formed with the object of promoting an Enabling Bill. All initiative was placed in

the hands of a committee, with Dr Temple as chairman. The rank and file of the Fellowship were to subscribe funds and support the action of their leaders, but were not to have any power of control. The history of the 'Life and Liberty' Movement, therefore, is practically the history of this committee's action. It will not be uninteresting to trace the course of their evolution. But first a word must be said about the general conditions which enabled them to get a hearing.

For some years past there had been a great deal of rather vague talk and writing about 'The failure of the Church.' No one could suppose its hold upon the masses to be at all strong; and empty churches testified to a decreasing attendance of the middle class. Various reasons were assigned. The public spoke of the lowered intellectual standard of the clergy, of their obscurantist views, of the abuses of patronage, of the gross mismanagement of endowments, or of the absurdity of having no rule of superannuation. That there was good ground for such complaints no reader of the Reports published by the Archbishops' Five Committees of Enquiry can doubt. Those who were concerned in Church government knew of these evils and of others; but they also knew that without some measure of self-government the Church could not remove them. That was the reason for appointing the Committee on Church and State. Matters were brought to a head by the experience of chaplains at the Front and of all who took part in the National Mission of 1916, which revealed a plenteous harvest, but labourers with divergent aims and hampered by the manacles of obsolete law. Under the apparent apathy of the public there was a large body of opinion in favour of some radical change. But it was divided. Many of the clergy, as well as nonconformists, advocated disestablishment as the only way to freedom of action. A larger number, better acquainted with history, believed that disestablishment would be fatal.

Now three elements are necessary to the success of a popular agitation—a general sense of dissatisfaction, a vague alliterative slogan, and an eloquent untiring advocate. Dissatisfaction was abundant; the title 'Life and Liberty' is admirable for its purpose, for it is heartening and quite indefinite; and Dr Temple

combines energy and enthusiasm with the kind of eloquence which appeals to popular audiences. The initial success, therefore, of the Life and Liberty Movement can cause no surprise. Its value, and the prospects of attaining its object, can be better estimated after a brief review of its development, which has already passed through two stages and entered upon a third.

I. The committee, which was formed to represent a variety of views, was gradually increased by co-optation, until it reached about a hundred. Besides determining policy, its members set to work at once to organise meetings all over the country and in other ways to win adherents to the Fellowship. When it became apparent that Dr Temple's presence made the success of a meeting, they urged him to resign his living and devote himself to this work. To his lasting honour, he found courage and faith to make that sacrifice.

But speeches alone are not enough, for no such agitation can live long without a literature of leaflets. With these the movement has been well supplied. There are leaflets of two pages with challenging titles and plenty of leaded type, booklets of a few small pages for the more reflective, and two pamphlets containing a reasoned statement of policy. The reader of this literature is able to some extent to reconstruct the course of the movement of which they are the advertisements.

In the first stage attention was concentrated on such abuses in Church order, finance and patronage as were already familiar to the public, and were recognised reasons for demanding reform. Aided by the Report, a speaker had little difficulty in convincing his audience that some new machinery was necessary, if the abuses were to be remedied. A slight account of the Enabling Bill, which would release the Church from her shackles, led up naturally to a picture of a new era of Church life. So there were many resolutions passed with enthusiasm in favour of promoting the Bill.

II. Meanwhile a few critical people were doing what these audiences did not attempt, and what by no means all the committee had accomplished. They were reading the Report carefully, and considering how far its recommendations were likely to attain their object. They began to point out some of the many inconsistencies in

that singularly ill-written document, and to make objections to some of its proposals. Before the end of 1917 six grave issues had been raised in various quarters, not by enemies but by friends of the Enabling Bill. Serious objection was made to—

- (1) The Communicant Franchise.
- (2) The inadequate position assigned to women.
- (3) The insufficient financial powers given to the Church Council.
- (4) The lack of security for the Parochial Councils.
- (5) The excessive size of the Church Council, and the unrepresentative character of the Clerical House.
- (6) The denial of powers to deal with urgent questions of doctrine.

Step by step the committee began to follow the trend of educated opinion. After a few months they pronounced in favour of the Baptismal Franchise. Indeed, they had no choice; for the public had condemned the original proposal as an unreal compromise. Then they decided to advocate the admission of women on equal terms with men to all the representative bodies. And they learned the need of insisting that the Church Council must have 'power to legislate on all matters relating to ecclesiastical endowments, property, patronage and tribunals.' These three amendments to the Enabling Bill are all contained in booklet No. 2. The committee have not printed anything about the Parochial Councils; but it appears that they now see the danger of leaving them without statutory powers. So in the course of a year the committee of the movement accepted four out of the six main propositions which were laid down in an article published in this Review in April 1918. They have not expressed any opinion about the constitution of the Church Council; and on the sixth point, which is of the greatest importance, they have not had any formal discussion. But their statement of policy, which was issued in November last, contains at least one sentence which implies the opinion that the Church Council ought to pronounce upon questions of doctrine: 'It must be one of the first tasks of a self-governing Church to state more clearly its interpretation of the Creeds in relation to modern thought.'

Whatever be their exact position with regard to the

last question, the second period of their evolution has been characterised by a serious criticism of the Bill, which at first they had accepted *in toto*. So far as their influence extends, it is being exerted in favour of a considerable improvement in the machinery upon which Church Reform depends. Many, therefore, who at first regarded their enthusiasm for 'the Bill and nothing but the Bill' with suspicion, are now ready to act with them in promoting a revised Enabling Bill.

III. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say 'were ready to act with them until last November,' when their new 'official statement of policy' was issued, under the title 'When the Church is Free.' Having very clearly pointed out the abuses in the Church, and indicated the proper machinery for dealing with them, we might have expected that they would stop. But they had a surprise in store for us. They may, indeed, claim that it ought to be no surprise. In the early booklet already mentioned they had stated that

'The Church is commissioned to bring to bear upon all phases and problems of life—political, social, and economic, no less than personal—the mind of Christ, wherein alone can be found the true principles of human life and civilisation.'

Here was a germ which might clearly be developed. And we all know how a 'movement' once fairly started '*vires acquirit eundo*,' and cannot easily stop when it has reached its original goal. Had we been wiser, then, we might have foreseen this third and critical stage in the committee's development. At any rate we cannot fail to find it interesting.

Plausible on a first reading, this manifesto soon loses its charm. It is in fact pervaded by three distinct elements of confusion. There is the confusion which is usually produced by compromise in a committee. The original draft was doubtless both pointed and uniform in tone; but successive casual amendments have deprived it of both these qualities. The phrase 'bring to bear . . . the mind of Christ' is susceptible of two interpretations. It may mean 'apply Christ's teaching to throw light on the problems of human life,' or, 'agitate for special measures which we believe to be demanded by His principles.' An argument in which the phrase is

used sometimes in one sense and sometimes in the other naturally fails to convince.

A worse confusion is caused by the tacit identification of 'a self-governing Church' with 'a united Church.' Both of these are doubtless excellent things, but they are quite distinct. A self-governing Church rules or directs its own members. A united Church, as here described, endeavours, by collective effort, to rule the community to which its members belong, after the model of the mediæval Church. The reader, who is puzzled by finding them treated as identical, suspects some confusion in the minds of the authors.

The sections of the pamphlet are almost equally divided between these two aspects of the Church. Certain sections show how self-government is needed for the co-ordination of missions, for the indispensable restatement of doctrine, and for maintaining discipline. Other sections describe how a united Church, able to use its collective influence, might promote international peace, social justice, and political honesty. In both divisions there is much which will commend itself to all serious readers. But why should their assent be made more difficult by a needless ambiguity?

Among the functions assigned to 'a united Church' are some which will certainly not be accepted without criticism. For instance, 'Among other similar problems in relation to which the Church should be able to offer guidance to mankind are . . . the use of the raw products of the world.' This statement is inconsistent with what is said on page 5 of the same pamphlet, 'the solution of certain problems requires a technical knowledge which renders the judgment of those who are without that knowledge of little value.' It is, in fact, a startling instance of the fallacy put forward several years ago in the report to Convocation on 'the Moral Witness of the Church,' which argued that the Church ought to have a definite and detailed economic policy and should press it with all its power.

Again, we all agree that 'a man who exploits the need of the community for his own advantage is acting wickedly.' But why should the committee hold that dagger to the breast of the capitalist only, leaving the syndicalist unrebuked? If one may judge by what is

said and what is left unsaid, their reason is a conviction that only the well-to-do need the warning of the Church in order that they may avoid sins against society.

In the sections indicated the committee tell us they are showing how, according to their persuasion, a liberated Church would 'bring the Mind of Christ to bear upon the problems of life.' Even those who come nearest to accepting their main contentions will regret that such a title as the 'Mind of Christ' should have been used in connexion with a programme which is not distinguished either by precision or consistency or width of outlook from commonplace socialistic writings.* Many of those who were prepared to act heartily with the committee in working for the Enabling Bill may be excused if they now hesitate, lest they should seem to endorse an economic scheme which is pretentious without being either clear or logical. They may well be daunted when they find the same voice warning the Church against partisanship and invasion of the expert's domain, yet expressing a desire that in particular cases the Church should exemplify both these errors.

The committee would, in our judgment, have taken a more politic as well as a more modest course if they had been content to predict that, if self-government should be attained, and if it should lead to union (which is far from certain), there would be 'the possibility of bringing the whole weight of the Church's witness and influence to bear upon individuals, upon parties, upon the nation, upon the world, for the advancement of the Kingdom of God.' In those words Dr Temple gave a fine expression to a legitimate hope, which appeals to all good Churchmen. But a forecast in detail of what the united Church will say and do in this or that connexion is less likely to unite and inspire than to divide and discourage.

It is to be feared that, by issuing this manifesto, the committee have seriously diminished their prospect of attaining the goal of their hopes. That is the more to

* The committee refer to the report of the Archbishops' Fifth Committee of Enquiry on 'Christianity and Industrial Problems,' as supporting their views. Unfortunately that report, though it contains much excellent matter, is open to much the same criticism.

be regretted because the report recently published by the Committee of the Representative Church Council shows a decided advance upon the original plan of the Archbishops' Committee. In this amended scheme we find the Baptismal Franchise accepted, women admitted to all Councils except the 'Church Assembly,' and a clearer recognition of that Assembly's right to deal with finance. There is also a door opened for the amendment of the constitution of the Church Assembly; for, while its Clerical House, as before, includes all members of the Lower Houses of both Convocations, an injunction is laid upon the Convocations to reform themselves so as to make their Lower Houses representative. A small concession has also been made to public opinion about the Parochial Councils; for it is declared that the Church Assembly may do no other business until it has fully constituted these Councils, and assigned their functions. Though not a satisfactory plan, this is the next best thing to granting statutory rights.

The Representative Church Council, at its meeting on Feb. 28, adopted the report of its Committee, in spite of the protests of a large minority. When so conservative a body is ready to concede so much to public opinion, the prospect of passing a satisfactory Bill is greatly increased. But success can be attained only by the co-operation of all Churchmen who desire that the Church should be free to fulfil her great mission; and we fear that the pamphlet entitled 'When the Church is Free' will cause some to draw back. To do so would, in our judgment, be a mistake. Men ought not to be deterred from providing an essential piece of machinery by suspicion that their neighbours may wish to make some wrong use of it. Even when the declared purpose of a party seems to them wrong, they would be wise to take the risk and trust the good feeling and good sense of the whole body. But that requires a larger measure of faith than is granted to all men.

We have left to this place a question of grave importance which concerns both the 'Life and Liberty' Movement and the scheme of the Representative Church Council. Thinking men, whether advocates or critics of the Church, will judge both those bodies very largely by their attitude to the restatement of doctrine. The need

of such restatement is frankly recognised in the 'official statement of policy' from which a sentence has been quoted above (p. 336). The fact is so plain that it seems almost impertinent to insist upon it; and yet it is constantly ignored. A large part of the dissensions in the Church, and of the consequent inefficiency, is due to the lack of a recognised standard of doctrine. The report of the Archbishops' Committee points out, what indeed is undeniable, that the only legal standard is contained in the Prayer-book and the 39 Articles. The Articles and some parts of the Prayer-book represent the 16th-century conceptions of God's providence, of man's nature, and of the Bible, which the intellectual and moral advance of three centuries has rendered not merely repulsive but unintelligible to the present generation. During the last eighty years all parties in the Church have practically turned their backs upon the Articles, and sought an expression of their faith elsewhere. Unfortunately, they have turned in different directions, so that the further they severally advance the further they are removed from each other.

This dangerous process will continue until a new standard is set up which attracts instead of repelling, and which presents Christian truth in a form consistent with the best knowledge and the highest aspirations of our own age. A task of immense difficulty, such as no body can hope to accomplish which does not possess faith, knowledge, and authority. Where can we find such a body? A hundred years ago the Bishops might have undertaken it; but the days of episcopal autocracy are past. Three hundred years ago Convocation might have done it; but Convocation practically abdicated after issuing the 39 Articles, and its voice is now so 'hoarse with long silence' that no one will hear it. There remains only one alternative. No declaration of doctrine will now have authority which does not proceed from a central body representing the whole Church. The proposed 'Church Assembly,' including all the bishops, with representatives of the clergy and the laity, is the modern equivalent of the great Councils which in the fourth and fifth centuries formulated the creeds. It is to such an assembly alone that we can look for a healing and enlightening pronouncement.

Yet the new scheme of the Representative Church Council seems, no less decidedly than that of the Archbishops' Committee, to forbid the Church Assembly 'to issue any statement purporting to define the doctrine of the Church of England on any question of theology.' Is this a surrender to the contention of many clergymen and some laymen, that doctrine is the sole concern of the clergy? They actually contend that, even if the Houses of Bishops and Clergy agree in a new formula, it will be rendered unholy by the concurrent approval of a House of Laymen! The bulk of sensible Englishmen, who regard that view as absurd, may hope that the prohibition is merely a formal concession to Church tradition. For, since leave is given to the Assembly 'to debate and formulate its judgment by resolution upon any matter concerning the Church of England, or otherwise of religious or public interest,' we may conjecture that, when the resolution purports 'to define the doctrine of the Church of England,' the right to issue the decision may be reserved, in deference to ancient custom, for the Bishops, who will act as the mouthpiece of the Assembly. If that be so, it ought to be stated clearly; for the passing of the Bill may turn upon this very point.

What is the attitude of the Life and Liberty Movement to this important question? The sentence quoted above, 'It must be one of the first tasks of a self-governing Church to state more clearly its interpretation of the Creeds in relation to modern thought,' is understood by some of the leaders in the sense which we have suggested—that is, the Church Assembly is to formulate and the Bishops to pronounce. But the committee as such has avowedly never discussed the subject. They would do well to discuss and to make a clear pronouncement. If they palter with the question—still more, if they advocate a return to the mediæval autocracy of the episcopate—they will alienate many supporters.

There is another question of great importance, as to which their attitude appears to many to be disquietingly indefinite. In the first enthusiasm of the movement some of the speakers proclaimed that, if the desired 'liberty' could not be obtained by means of the Enabling Bill, they were prepared to purchase it at the cost of disestablishment. Such words made a deep impression

because it was known that among the supporters of the movement were some who desired disestablishment for its own sake. It was hard for outsiders to distinguish between those who regarded disestablishment as a prize to be won, and those who braced themselves for it as a sacrifice which might have to be made. Such as believed the National Church to be one of the main hopes for the future held back from a movement which seemed to threaten it. Whether because they were warned of the danger of losing support, or because reflexion convinced them that their first utterances were rash, the speakers and writers of the movement soon ceased to refer to disestablishment, even as a possibility. The impression, however, remains in many minds that some of the leaders 'are heading for disestablishment.'

Is it so, or is it not? A clear declaration of policy is urgently required. For here is no mere difference as to the use to which liberty shall be put when it has been obtained. There are two incompatible views of the relation of religion to national life; and a choice must be made between them. No real co-operation is possible between men who believe that the National Church, with all its faults, is of inestimable value both to the nation and to religion, and men who would be more or less content as members of an Anglican Sect. If, as we believe, the overwhelming majority of the Fellowship belong to the former category, the fact should be published, and the movement thereby strengthened.

Possibly, in the early stages, a professed willingness to suffer disestablishment may have seemed a useful weapon for Parliamentary debate. Reflexion must convince us that it is a double-edged weapon; for, if it be a proof of earnestness, it is also a challenge such as Parliaments very readily take up. A great national assembly is not to be cajoled or threatened. It will be moved, if moved at all, by a frank appeal to its sense of justice and of the national advantage.

An attempt has been made to state the evidence impartially, so that readers may form their own judgment upon the merits and prospects of the Life and Liberty Movement. If the writer were called upon to state his own conclusions, he would summarise them as

follows. It is inconceivable that, under existing conditions, even the most necessary measures of Church Reform should be passed through Parliament. The Enabling Bill proposed by the Archbishops' Committee, when amended in some particulars, will secure at once Parliamentary Control and an adequate measure of self-government; and therefore it deserves the support of all who have the best interests of the Church at heart. Though it does not stand alone, the 'Life and Liberty Movement' is the most active and influential organisation for promoting this Bill. The reasons which its leaders, in print and in their speeches, have given for demanding the Bill are for the most part unexceptionable; and they are gradually adopting the amendments which are desirable in the schedule of the Bill. They appear to have made two mistakes. Their last pamphlet opens a vision of the future which is gratuitous and which, right or wrong, has little to do with the Bill; and they have as yet failed plainly to retract the hints about disestablishment which were rashly uttered at first. The former mistake, which is no more than an irrelevance, need not deter earnest Churchmen, whatever their views about social reform, from joining the Fellowship. The latter is more serious, for silence is being taken to mean adherence to a programme of disestablishment. But, if the Fellowship as a whole is really averse from that disastrous policy, the committee may be expected to issue a frank disavowal. If they do this, they will deserve the united support of Churchmen, and will have a fair prospect of success.

M. G. GLAZEBOOK.

Art. 5.—THE EMPIRE OF SPAIN. ✓

1. *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New*. Two vols. By Prof. Roger Bigelow Merriman. New York: Macmillan, 1918.
2. *Historia de España*. By Prof. Rafael Altamira y Crevea. Four vols. Barcelona: Herederos de Juan Gill, 1909–1911.
3. *Isabel of Castile and the Making of the Spanish Nation*. By Ierne L. Plunket. New York: Putnam, 1915.

SPAIN, when the European nations were dancing out the 15th century, appeared as Cinderella on the scene, not, indeed, a young and blooming maid but a middle-aged and somewhat tousled lady with some startling adventures and some ugly memories behind her. All the more credit to her, then, that she became a queen of the European *salon*, whose fashions even Paris was content to follow. It was the spirit of adventure, after all, which had once delayed but now produced this sudden *début*. Until the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella no nation, perhaps, since the days of the Normans, had been so given to adventure as that which inhabited the Iberian peninsula; and certainly none, not even the Germans, had been so lacking in a common discipline. The application of discipline to adventure was the work of Ferdinand and Isabella; they were indeed the fairy god-parents who equipped Spain for her dazzling and triumphant apparition.

Prof. Merriman has chosen adventure, that is the rise of the Spanish Empire, for his book, of which the two first volumes have now appeared. His task will close with Philip II, for the rise ceased with the annexation of Portugal and her colonies, and the dismal downfall of the 17th century has no attractions for him. He has done wisely in selecting a great theme, indeed the greatest within the area covered by Spanish history, instead of writing this history in all its fulness and complexity. His difficulty is that his main theme involves a secondary subject—the conflict, that is, between unity and particularism. Unity was the work of the monarchy, but it was hampered by the ineradicable

popular feeling for particularism, which was favoured by every distinctive element, racial, social or geographical, within the peninsula. Upon this the author has constantly to insist, and he can hardly explain it without entering into the origins of the several States which ultimately made up the Spanish monarchy. The racial divergences were rendered more permanent by the great variety of social and political institutions, the result of Roman, Visigothic, Frankish and Moorish law and custom.* Hence he feels obliged to treat of the constitutional peculiarities of the several States, because they were obstacles to the centralisation which was necessarily the aim of the united crowns. If, for instance, Aragon had had common institutions with Castile, or even Catalonia with its associated yokefellow Aragon, or if Granada had had any homogeneity with Navarre, the centralising task of the Crown would have been far easier, and the Empire might have proved more solid. Mr Merriman points out that not even under Ferdinand and Isabella is it right to speak of a Spain in the modern sense; and it was long before historians ceased to use the phrase, the Spains.

From a literary point of view, the setting-out of these distinctions has its drawback both for author and reader, for the continuity of the Imperial story is broken by frequent divagations into constitutional history; and the marvellous tale of Ferdinand and Isabella's conquests must needs be abridged, because Mr Merriman, like the Catholic Kings, has to spend no small portion of his energy on the constitutional transfiguration of the Castilian State, which, indeed, made those conquests possible. Empire, in fact, did in great measure depend on the harmonising of constitutional independence and monarchical consolidation.

The long conflict between union and autonomy has its bearing on modern Spanish politics. Is any democratic movement within Spain likely to lead to separatism or at least federalism? In Catalonia this seems certain. In the revolt against John II the first idea was a republic

* These institutions are admirably treated by Prof. Altamira in his 'Historia de España,' which is devoted to the social and constitutional conditions of Spain rather than to its political history.

on the Italian model; separatism became a fact during the War of Spanish Succession; and in the wars of the Revolution the sympathies of Barcelona, if not of Catalonia at large, were French.* But the tendency has not been confined to that province, where it might be explained by industrial, linguistic, and racial reasons. During the short-lived Republic (1873-74), federalism prevailed not only in Catalonia but throughout Andalusia, taking, in Cartagena and elsewhere, the extreme form of Parisian Communism. The Carlism of Navarre has been of course monarchical and not theoretically separatist; but, were there no Christinos, Carlism would lose its meaning, while racial divergence would survive. Barcelona, as is well known, is federalist, to say the least, to this day; while, in a general upheaval, the Cantabrian mountains would form an almost inevitable political boundary between the stirring population, industrial and maritime, of well-wooded and well-watered Asturias and Galicia, and the sleepier folk of the cornlands of red-brown León. Democracy in Portugal appears to make the union with Spain even less probable than before, for the two peoples dislike each other, and dynastic fusion has been the only hope for union. The separation of the Central and South American republics may be borne in mind, particularism reaching its climax, to the delight or despair of the philatelist, within the Republic of Colombia. These considerations give a deeper meaning to Mr Merriman's repeated insistence on the invariable spirit of autonomy in medieval Spain, whether Christian or Moslem—a spirit inherited from the most ancient times.

Spanish history cannot be read with any comfort until Castile, Aragon with its co-partners Catalonia and Valencia, Navarre and Portugal take definite shape. The cradle of Castile was the Cave of Covadonga, issuing from which the Christian remnant first beat back the Mussulman. This is one of the greatest historic sites; and, whatever element of legend there may be, no

* Cf. Peyron, 'Le Catalan se considère comme faisant un peuple à part; il a plus d'une fois formé le projet d'ériger son pays en république.' 'Nouveau Voyage en Espagne, 1777 et 1778,' II, 141.

traveller can visit it without emotion. The little kingdom of Asturias, which sprang from this with Oviedo as its capital, spread across the Cantabrian mountains, and was swallowed by its own offspring, the kingdom of León. From León two daughter States broke off, Castile to the East and Portugal to the West. The stirring Count of Burgos, Fernán Gonzalez, won autonomy for Castile, mainly by the aid of the Caliph Abd-ar-Rahman III. After many changes of fortune Castile and León were for a moment re-united under a King of Navarre, a Gallo-Iberian State broken off from the Carolingian Empire. Shaking itself loose, Castile absorbed León, and from 1230, in the reign of Saint Ferdinand, the mother and daughter States were never separated. Portugal, meanwhile, under a Burgundian dynasty, which had taken a valorous part in the Crusade, hardened off into an independent State when Affonso Henriquez, the conqueror of Lisbon (1147), obtained the royal title from the Pope. Henceforth Portugal passes out of Mr Merriman's picture until its annexation by Philip II.

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The origins of Aragon are quite distinct. Originally a Carolingian county, it fell under the lordship of Navarre, which it afterwards absorbed, just as Castile had overmastered León. Saragossa, its later capital, was conquered from the Moors in 1118, a feat comparable to the capture of Toledo by Castile in 1085. Navarre, after emancipating itself, passed in 1234 to the house of Champagne, and became politically French until its conquest by Ferdinand the Catholic. Aragon meanwhile had secured a magnificent compensation for her loss by the betrothal of her infant heiress to Ramon Berenguer, Count of Barcelona, who became king in 1137. Hitherto the Aragonese aristocracy had been a somewhat sleepy conservative race, clinging to its semi-feudal institutions, having few external ambitions, content with its recent conquests, allowing Castile to creep round its southern borders. Her new kings were to rouse Aragon from her slumbers. They held a gate into France through Cerdagne, were lords of Provence, Millau, and Gévaudan, later of Roussillon, Foix, Nîmes and Béziers, Montpellier and the County of Urgel. Of more permanent importance was it that they had in Barcelona a

port with old traditions of Mediterranean trade, a hive of industry and enterprise, whether by land or sea, and a racial connexion with the whole Ligurian race round the Tuscan gulf to the bay of Spezia.

The 13th century found Castile and Aragon with characters and programmes essentially different. The Castilians were a military race, pushing southwards at intervals against the Moors, averse from labour, concentrated for protection in towns, which were controlled by noble families.* Their one maritime enterprise was the partial conquest of the Canaries; and this was the work of a Norman and a Poitevin sailing from La Rochelle, who put their acquisitions under Henry IV's protection in 1402. The history of the reconquest may disappoint readers of a romantic temperament. The Christians advanced spasmodically. During long, dreary stretches little happened, save raids on both sides. Between the fluctuating frontiers was a barren breadth of No Man's land. The Crown, with no standing forces of its own, relied on nobles who fought mainly for their own hand, and on the Church, which received a generous share of spoils, in particular the metropolitan see of Toledo. The nobles had no hesitation in joining the Moors against their king; Spanish and Moorish States alike did not scruple to aid each other against their respective co-religionists. There was little fanaticism or even fervour; a certain tolerance was rather the rule than the exception. Such religious revivals as there were came usually from across the Straits, and caused a corresponding liveliness in one or more of the Christian kingdoms.

The story of Aragon has much more variety and life. It was, perhaps, no disadvantage that, as an indirect consequence of the Albigensian wars, she lost all her French possessions except Roussillon and Montpellier. Her paths were on the great waters. Her very Crusade

* The contrast between the town life of Spanish nobles and that of the country-loving aristocracy of England, France and Germany is marked by the ironical expression 'Châteaux d'Espagne,' which is much older than is usually supposed. Don John of Austria perhaps misunderstood its significance when in a letter of Nov. 24, 1571, he wrote:—'I ramble on, building a thousand *castillos en Francia*; and finally all they and I collapse in the wind without any hope of sounder structure.'—'Lettere di D. Giovanni d'Austria a D. Giovanni Andrea Doria I.' Ed. by Principe D. Alfonso Doria Pamphili, 1896.

was primarily maritime, for James I conquered the Moors in Majorca before he won Valencia. James I's successor, Pedro III, carried his sails yet further. Taking up, on behalf of his Hohenstaufen wife, the glove thrown down by Conradin before his execution in the market-place at Naples, he accepted the call of the revolted Sicilians, surely the bravest challenge ever made by so small a kingdom. Pedro withstood not only the power of the Angevin King of Naples, but all the force of France and the Papal thunderbolts. His two eldest sons, Alfonso III and James II, forsook indeed their Sicilian subjects on promotion to the Crown of Aragon, but the third, Frederick, manfully took up the fight, though James himself was added to his enemies. Thus Sicily, though an Aragonese State, was separated from the Crown, to return to it in 1409, a year before Martin's decease.

James II received from Boniface VIII the lordship of Corsica and Sardinia, as a bribe for betraying Sicily. This was a gift-horse whose mouth would not bear inspection, for Corsica belonged to Genoa, while Sardinia was disputed by Pisans, Genoese and the islanders under their four chiefs called Judges. By the end of his reign James, by playing off Genoese against Pisans, conquered Sardinia, though the Aragonese hold was never secure until a century later, when Alfonso V stamped out Genoese influence, all but conquered Corsica, and at his death was blockading Genoa herself.

For pure adventure Mr Merriman's most fascinating theme is the tale of the Catalan Company, which may be read at greater length in Mr W. Miller's 'The Latins in the Levant.' These mercenaries, disbanded by Frederick II of Sicily after the peace of Caltabellotta (1302), took service under the Greek Emperor Andronicus, and at once became a terror to their foes and still more to their friends. Having marched through Asia Minor to the Cilician Gates and back, they settled on the Gallipoli Peninsula, which was, according to their chronicler Muntaner, the most delightful cape in the world, with good bread, good wine, and all the fruits in plenty. Thence they marched, fighting and plundering, through Thrace, Macedonia and the Thessalian cornlands to Boeotia, and here in the marshes of the Kephissos broke

for ever the power of the Frankish nobility of the Morea and Northern Greece, who had gathered round Walter of Brienne, Duke of Athens. Married to the widows of the slain, they became a settled dominant power, treating the Greeks as later the *Conquistadores* treated the natives of the Indies. Not content with Athens, they again extended northwards, and annexed Neo-Patras, the territory of Salonika. Greeks, Franks, Venetians, Turks were now all their enemies; so, to give their duchies some diplomatic status, they did homage to Frederick II of Sicily, and later to Pedro IV of Aragon, and so brought themselves within the scope of Mr Merriman.

Weakened by two generations of idleness, the Catalans fell at length before the Florentine house of Acciaiuoli, which pounced upon them from the vantage-post of Corinth. They left scarcely a trace on Greece except a bad name among the native population, which lasted, according to Mr Miller, till a century ago, when 'Catalan' was a term of abuse, just as 'A regular Hanoverian' is among old Norfolk peasants to this day. The Catalans, indeed, were nowhere popular. On Alfonso V's death, Neapolitan hatred of his Catalan mercenaries determined the populace to support the illegitimate Ferrante, the *re Taliano*, against his legitimate nephew Don Carlos, whom the nobles backed. When Calixtus III died, the Romans massacred all the Catalans they could find, and would so have served their master, the Pope's nephew Joffré, had they caught him. French travellers of the 18th century describe Catalans as the rudest and least sober of all Spaniards, but also the most industrious, for drunkenness, says one, is both cause and effect of industry.

Confusion, usual in Spanish kingdoms, was worse confounded in the period which preceded the union of the Crowns. Both Mr Merriman and Miss Plunket, in her attractive study of Isabella, devote much space to this, for, without some knowledge of it, the vital importance of the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella cannot be understood. In Castile, Aragon and Navarre there were disputed successions and concomitant rebellions. If Spain were left to herself, and if Iberian unity were to emerge from the welter, the prize would probably fall to Aragon. She had been ruled by three exceptionally clever kings of the Castilian house of

Trastamara, Ferdinand I and his sons Alfonso V and John II, while Castile had suffered from two abnormally incompetent rulers, John II and Henry IV. All three Spanish kingdoms, with the Kings of France and Portugal, joined in the *mêlée*. Louis XI, unlike his predecessor and three successors, was more attracted by Spain than by Italy. He desired to annex or control the two Pyrenean saddle-bag states, Roussillon and Cerdagne on the south-east and Navarre on the south-west of France, and to prevent the dangerous union of Castile and Aragon. Honours in the end were fairly even between John of Aragon and Louis. The former secured Isabella, heiress of Castile, for Ferdinand, his son by a second marriage, and placed his daughter Eleanor, who had sided with him, instead of her hostile elder brother and sister, on the throne of Navarre. Louis after a ding-dong fight won Roussillon, and countered John's success in Navarre by marrying his clever sister Madeleine to Eleanor's heir, whom she outlived. When Louis died, Isabella at Logroño was facing French forces massed upon the frontier.

The interest to be extracted from this farrago of facts is the importance of royal marriages. Should Castile yoke with France, with Aragon, with Portugal, or Navarre? Mr Merriman points out that, though intermarriage with Aragon was not infrequent, with Portugal it had been yet more common. Isabella's personal fancy decided the national issue for all time. Alfonso was old, Charles of France gouty and weak-eyed, Ferdinand brave and handsome. Historians who keep their thumbs upon the pulses of the peoples instead of their eyes on the features of kings and queens fail in their diagnosis. The fortunes of most of Central Europe, of all Spain, and perhaps Great Britain, have depended less on popular antipathies or aspirations than on matrimonial accidents.

The reign of Ferdinand and Isabella is such a mine of marvels that its treasures were from the first ransacked by historians, who have left little for their most recent successors to exploit. Even apart from the union of Castile and Aragon, what other reign in modern history down to the French Revolution has combined such themes as the Conquest of Granada, followed by Spanish settlement in Morocco and Tripoli, the discovery of America,

the reunion of Naples, the grip on the two gates of the Pyrenees, Navarre and Roussillon, the reversion, however unintentional, to the priceless Burgundian inheritance, the expulsion of Jews and Moors, and the two institutions, good or bad, of the Inquisition and the government by Council, which to the close of the 18th century mastered a proud and undisciplined nation? Such marvels are all the greater if full weight is given to the ubiquitous anarchy of Castile under Isabella's brother and father, and to the effervescing disorder in the Aragonese States, which Ferdinand's father, resourceful and relentless as he was, could never quite repress.

Questions there are, of course, still open for discussion, such as the respective parts played by husband and wife, the real worth of America to Spain, the policy of North-African settlement and of Neapolitan conquest, the intentions of Ferdinand as to his inheritance. On all these Mr Merriman pronounces with full knowledge of the evidence and with well-considered judgment; he is, perhaps, at his best throughout in the treatment of the wider problems. He can distinguish the essence of Spanish history from the confusion of incidental facts.

On the first of these heads Castilian writers have usually given the foremost place to Isabella, while Italian historians scarcely mention her, but dwell on Ferdinand's European prestige. This is natural enough, for to Castilians the main objects of interest were Granada, America, the purity of the faith and an orderly government, which were pre-eminently the tasks of their country and their queen. Italians regarded Ferdinand as the creator of a Mediterranean Empire, which might at any moment extend from Apulia to the Eastern Adriatic and thence from Athens to the Chersonese. They were dazzled by Ferdinand's remarkable victories over the gigantic power of France, by the skill with which he brought Emperor, Pope, England, Venice, the Swiss and Brittany into one or other of his combinations, by his very power of deceit, which in Guicciardini's opinion surpassed that of all other men. Machiavelli more than once declares that prestige was in itself an aim for Ferdinand, and holds that, in the conquest of Granada, the African campaign, the attack on Naples,

even the expulsion of the Moors, his end was not this or that success but the gaining of reputation under the mask of religion, and the keeping the attention of his subjects on the strain by the multiplicity of unexpected enterprises. Ferdinand's Italian aims were certainly not limited to Naples; all Italy was subject to the infiltration of Spanish troops; they protected Pisa and sacked Prato; they were beaten at Bologna and Ravenna only to rout the Venetians near Vicenza; they held the passage of the Po at Piacenza when Francis I's victory of Marignano turned the scale against them. It is hard on Italy that Machiavellism should be fathered on her for all time, whereas Machiavelli was impressing on Italians the value of fierce energy and cant, the very qualities which they lacked, and thus made the Spaniard, Cæsar Borgia, the impersonation of the one and Ferdinand that of the other.

In a general sense, Isabella's interest was intensive government, that of Ferdinand territorial extension. His adventurous, expansive nature would have been cramped in the subordinate position in Castile to which his wife confined him; it found its vent in the manipulation of foreign policy. The suppression of a disorderly nobility, especially in Galicia and Andalusia, was the Queen's task; so was the conquest of Granada, though Ferdinand took an active and valiant part in the military operations. Annexation in Africa was for Isabella the enlargement of Granada; Ferdinand concurred in her plans, but with a view to Mediterranean expansion rather than to Spanish security. Aragon, it must be remembered, was still a State apart; the monarchical reforms in Castile had little reaction there; the only new institution common to the two kingdoms was the Inquisition. The Jews were, indeed, expelled from Aragon; but, when Isabella drove the unconvertible Moors from Granada, Ferdinand did not follow suit, and, after her death, tried to modify the severity of her measures. Isabella has usually been credited with the support of Columbus, tardy and grudging as it was; but Mr Merriman accepts the more modern view that Ferdinand was from the first an eager participant, even though Castile enjoyed the monopoly of trade and settlement. Of Isabella there is less to say, because her aims were obvious and straightforward—unity of faith and of race, promotion of true

religion and justice, the supremacy of Castile, and, within Castile, of herself. Her force lay in stability of will, that of Ferdinand in the astuteness of his restless intellect; Machiavelli, it is true, once called him astute and fortunate rather than wise and farsighted. It is to their credit that, in spite of such diversities, they remained a comparatively harmonious couple.

The discovery of America, the conquests in North Africa and Italy, and even the absorption of Navarre and Roussillon have this common tie, that all contributed to the embarrassing wealth of alternative adventures which ultimately bled Spain white. As if this were not enough, the international marriage policy of the Catholic Kings entailed yet further liabilities and complexities. The price paid for America was very high, for it drained Castile, a thinly populated State with a peculiarly low birth-rate and a proclivity towards indolence, of its most energetic manhood. Yet few would disagree with Mr Merriman's conclusion :

'Had Spain kept out of the New World she would doubtless have led a more comfortable existence in the Old. She would not have been so easily induced to attempt impossible tasks. She would not have drawn down on herself the jealousy and hatred of neighbouring States. She would probably have avoided the fatal trial of strength with England. She might well have been more powerful to-day. Yet, when all is said and done, it was the Indies that account for her greatness during the short period that it lasted. If they were a principal cause of her subsequent decay, they were also the primary source of her temporary pre-eminence. Without them she would never have been able to retain the hegemony of Europe as long as she did; without them the Spanish Empire would scarcely have been worthy of the name.'

The chapter on this huge subject is necessarily a sketch, but it is valuable as summarising the results of numerous recent works, very few of which are available for the English reader. The sketch, too, is a sufficient reminder that before Ferdinand's death settlement on the mainland was very tentative, while by implication it corrects the inveterate belief that the mines of America were the cause of the remarkable rise of prices in Europe at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. They were

then in fact quite inadequate for such a result, and not nearly so important as the silver mines of Tirol.

It might naturally be urged that Ferdinand should not have committed himself to the conquest of Naples. Yet it is fair to remember that it was his uncle Alfonso's choicest possession. The Catholic Kings, so long as the illegitimate line went in direct succession, had made no claim, but, when reversion was granted by Alexander VI to the third king's uncle, they had raised a reasonable protest. The alternative, moreover, was inevitable conquest by France; and where then would be the security for Sicily? The end was perhaps justifiable, though the less said about the means the better. It is rather in North Africa that Ferdinand's policy deserves criticism; and this not for doing too much but too little. For Isabella, Granada was a bridge-head for North Africa; for Ferdinand North Africa was a jumping-off place for Italy. Ximenes in 1509, after much opposition and at his own expense, personally essayed to carry out Isabella's scheme. Oran was taken and colonised by six hundred Spanish families; and Ximenes would have followed this up by the conquest of the great kingdom of Tlemçen. Navarro, who succeeded, was against inland enterprise, and cared chiefly for the pillage of the coast towns. He took the old commercial port of Bugia, seized Peñon d'Argel, the islet which commanded Algiers, and captured Tripoli. All this was not worth doing unless occupation were extended far into the interior. Instead of this, Ferdinand used these troops, reinforced (it would appear) by *Askari*, as a reserve to be thrown upon Italy, where they were beaten at Ravenna.

Such was the mistaken policy which Spain continued to pursue. Her garrisons held a series of posts, which had to be provisioned, sometimes even watered, from Spain and Sicily. Losses by disease and desertion were unceasing. Fanatical tribes would gather as suddenly as sand-storms in the desert, and isolate the helpless garrisons of the coast. The peril of Melilla, Spain's first conquest, in 1909, was the most recent serious warning, but will not be the last. France, much later in the field, adopted the wiser policy. While Spain nibbled at the coast-line of North Africa, France swallowed the interior.

It is difficult to accept Mr Merriman's theory that

Ferdinand's second marriage with Germaine de Foix was due to a patriotic wish for a son who might exclude the foreigner, the Habsburg, from the Spanish thrones. Castile was the predominant partner; and to her the issue of Ferdinand and Germaine would be doubly foreign, whereas the two sons of Philip of Habsburg—Charles and Ferdinand—were her beloved heroine's grand-children. Ferdinand must have realised from the attitude of Castilian nobles during Philip's visit to Spain, and from his own unpleasant reception by Castilian towns on his retirement to Aragon, that such a dynastic revolution was impossible. On Ferdinand's death Spanish unity was in the scales of fate with the weights against it. Castile and Aragon still stood back to back, scornfully shrugging their shoulders at each other. Ferdinand's international policy had at the last moment gone awry. Francis I's victory at Marignano broke up the combination which Ferdinand had laboriously formed against him. Naples would be the next French objective; and Francis would undoubtedly champion the rights of the house of Albret to Navarre, and use his victorious armies for the recovery of Roussillon. In Castile Isabella's blows had only scotched, not killed, the snake of noble disaffection, while the cities represented in Cortes might raise new pretensions against the absolutism so recently established. The Queen Joanna was mad, her son Charles a stranger. On Ferdinand's death he would presumably be King of Aragon. This would preserve the formal union of the Spanish States; but did either Castile or Aragon wish for this? The difficult future depended on a personality with capacity to attack a problem for which the ablest of European kings had found no complete solution.

The Catholic Kings can scarcely be dismissed without mention of the Inquisition. Spain, when it was introduced, was in the heyday of the Renaissance; and they can scarcely have foreseen that the persecution of relapsing Jews and Moors would prove fatal to the intellectual future of the nation. The elimination of Jews did probably contribute to the decline of talent in the liberal professions, as the expulsion of the Moors did to that of agriculture. On the other hand, Spain escaped the religious wars of France, the Netherlands

and Germany. Any single month of the Thirty Years' War, or even the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, cost more lives than the whole course of the Inquisition. The victims of the Holy Office were far outnumbered by those who were boiled, roasted or pincered to death during the 17th-century epidemic of witch-mania in such educated countries as Germany, North Britain or New England. If the exaggeration of Catholicism did in some degree stifle thought in Spain, the same may be said of the arid and interminable discussions on doctrinal formulæ in Lutheran Germany. The literary and artistic bloom of Spain belong to the very age when the Inquisition was running riot. It was, perhaps, only one of several factors in Spain's intellectual decline, such as stupid kings, idle people, bureaucratic government and incompetent finance. Spain had suffered from one or more of these before, and it was unlikely that so brilliant a combination as that of Ferdinand and Isabella would be repeated.

To sum up, Spain suffered from a surfeit of adventure, to which her enormous coast-line, facing all four points of the compass, tempted her. The strength of the nation was drained seawards. Racial intolerance and ingrained particularism aggravated the evil. Castile claimed the exhausting monopoly of America, but the visit of Columbus had been an accident for which she was scarcely ready. The separation of Portugal proved a grave misfortune. Her industrious population, at once agricultural and nautical, would have formed an invaluable reserve for the martial manhood of Castile, while Brazil would not have broken the continuity of Spanish America. Adventure from the first starved agriculture. Soldiers, sailors and settlers left the inland provinces to idlers, who would neither sow nor reap, and whose pride was in their indolence.

EDWARD ARMSTRONG.

What does *vico* teacher have
know about philosophy? ~~-----~~

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Art. 6.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF BENEDETTO CROCE. ✓

1. *Filosofia come Scienza dello Spirito*. By Benedetto Croce. Bari: Laterza e Figli.
 - I. *Eстетica come Scienza dell' Espressione e Linguistica: Generale Teoria e Storia*. Quarta Edizione riveduta, 1912.
 - II. *Logica come Scienza del Concetto Puro*. Seconda Edizione interamente rifatta, 1900.
 - III. *Filosofia della Pratica, Economica ed Etica*. 1909.
 - IV. *Teoria e Storia della Storiografia*. 1917.
2. *Saggi Filosofici*. By Benedetto Croce. Same publishers.
 - I. *Problemi di Estetica e Contributi alla Storia dell' Estetica Italiana*. 1910.
 - II. *La Filosofia di Giambattista Vico*. 1911. Transl. by R. G. Collingwood. Allen and Unwin, 1913.
 - III. *Saggio sullo Hegel seguito da altri scritti di Storia della Filosofia*. 1913.
3. *Translations of Croce's Works*. By Douglas Ainslie. Macmillan.
 - I. *Logic as the Science of the Pure Concept*. 1917.
 - II. *Philosophy of the Practical, Economic and Ethic*. 1913.
 - III. *What is living and what is dead of the Philosophy of Hegel*. 1915.
4. *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*. Vol. 1, containing *The Task of Logic*. By Benedetto Croce. Macmillan, 1913.
5. *The Philosophy of Benedetto Croce. The problem of Art and History*. By H. Wildon Carr. Macmillan, 1917.

A SYMMETRICAL philosophical system, which proclaims as its principle a perfectly spiritual realm of being, realising itself through a continuous conflict of good and evil, in which good is necessarily triumphant and progressive, offers much that is attractive to thoughtful men to-day. When we further note that it promises a complete liberation from metaphysical and theological dogma, and directs our serious attention to the fullest and truest interpretation of actual life and history, rather than to problems of the Absolute or, in any sense, of another world, its attractiveness is probably intensified. But

yet our curiosity will be aroused as to the definition of that province which is to be thus excluded from contemplation.

In general terms like these we may describe the first impression produced by Croce's philosophy. Signor Croce is a senator of the kingdom of Italy, whose philosophical writings, together with his copious contributions to literary criticism, have attained a remarkable popularity in his own country. And he hardly needs to-day an introduction to English readers, to whom his principal systematic works are accessible in readable translations, while Mr Carr's lucid study offers a valuable synopsis of his thought.

Croce's speculation is plainly animated by a double intellectual motive, to affirm spirituality and to deny transcendence. Subject to this latter condition, we find him applying and developing with extreme resolution and acuteness those effective conceptions which a spiritual monism has at command. There is no reality, he teaches, but the one spirit. It lives in finite individuals, in the main, such as ourselves; their minds are its consciousness; their philosophy is its self-consciousness; their action is its history. Reality is its progress; a necessary but creative evolution in which contradictions, evoked by the spirit's activity, are for ever being resolved by its constructive thought and will. The spirit is a universal which has its life and being in the individual; what is real is always this concrete life; abstractions are always fictitious. Freedom is the volition of the individual mind, identified at once with a given historical situation, which is the necessary basis of its action, and with the thinking will which re-creates that necessary datum into novelty. The great positive experiences, Beauty, Truth, Pleasure, and Goodness, carry with them respectively their opposites, Ugliness, Error, Pain, and Evil, which, in accordance with the law of reality, are at once necessary to their being, and perpetually absorbed into its self-completion.

Handling uncompromisingly conceptions so comprehensive, a philosopher of acute genius and very considerable learning, a master, moreover, of a vivid and pleasing literary style, he holds an effective position in the modern world. He offers, it would seem, the advantages

of monism without mysticism, and of positivism without realism. The physical realist, the pluralist, the pragmatist, have as short a shrift from Croce as they might have had from Hegel. Neither determinist nor indeterminist can stand up against the doctrine of a freedom which arises as the transformation of a necessity. Neither optimist nor pessimist has a chance in face of the idea of a good to which actual evil is at once essential and subordinate. At every point the more commonplace formulæ are exterminated by the criticism of a thinker who wields Hegel's dialectic to the destruction of what is abstract and one-sided. And yet, on the other hand, he is resolute in affirming that it must not and does not carry him a single step towards any Absolute or any being beyond the human world; not a single step beyond the methodological ideas which plain historical data demand for their elucidation.

The system which he offers is simple and symmetrical. The whole of reality lies in the connected activities of the spirit. The whole of philosophy lies in the methodical analysis of these activities, each by itself, though forming, taken together, a connected circle of ideas. There is no single reality in the sense of a supreme experience; there is no unique or central problem of philosophy as such; that is to say, there is no metaphysic and no criterion of the real. We shall have to determine as best we can whether on these terms there is a universe.

The forms or activities of the spirit are two only, knowledge and will. Knowledge is *prima facie* presupposed by will, but not will by knowledge. Knowledge is the condition of action; will cannot be blind. Each of these divisions, necessarily and symmetrically, falls into two subordinate shapes, related to each other as individual to universal.

For knowledge first appears as imagery or 'intuition.' We are apt, indeed, to suppose that knowledge begins with sense-perception. But there is something which Croce likes to think of as earlier than this; prior certainly in a logical sense, and also, it is clear, to some extent in temporal succession. He gives a striking description of the instant of pure intuition, the living of the sensation, before reflection and volition ensue upon

it with lightning rapidity.* This is the pure work of imagination—the image-making power—in presenting before the mind the particulars which form its world. It is mere vision or apprehension, without affirmation of real or unreal. And it is the essence of æsthetic intuition. Further—this is one, perhaps the greatest, of Croce's paradoxes—indistinguishably from this comes the beginning of language, which *ab initio* is one with the æsthetic experience. For all intuition is expression, and is essentially inward, whether its medium be colour, musical sound, or any other type of sense-quality, or again, what we call articulate speech. Only, if we insist in thinking of language in terms of speech, we are to identify it with speech in its full unanalysed concreteness, as the self-complete sentence in its continuous song or cry, with its individual accompaniment of dramatic look and gesture. All this expression of the soul is one thing with the æsthetic intuition; it is man's primary utterance of what his world is to him; we may call it his natural lyric. This intuition, the primary form of knowledge, in itself and in its purity, coincides with the province of æsthetic experience, with all that belongs to fine art and to beauty.

For this primitive feature remains the essential character of art, however elaborated and intellectualised. Just as, for the theorist of modern impressionism, the æsthetic vision never forfeits the singleness of the primary appreciation, so for Croce the expressionist, the intuition, though it may grow from an interjection into a five-act tragedy, will never be more than an imaginative presentation, free from any distinction between what is real and what is not. The sayings of Polonius remain images of Polonius' personality; they are not philosophical affirmations in their own right. Indeed we have been mistaken, so Croce will tell us,† if we have looked for art and beauty among the loftiest summits of philosophy. Their strength is rather in their humbleness; they belong to the birthday of the spiritual life. 'Poetry is "the maternal language of the human race"; the first men "were by nature sublime poets."'‡ The poetic

* 'Fulmineamente,' Saggi i, 484.

† 'Æsthetic,' Tr., p. 381.

‡ 'Æsthetic,' Tr., p. 43. The borrowed phrases are from Vico.

imagination is just the human mind uncontaminated by the logical concept.

And thus it is that æsthetic, the philosophy of art, is one with linguistic, the philosophy of language. For language in its full reality is, as we saw, not a conceptual product, but an æsthetic expression. This is the conception of language, as one with the natural poetry—the imaginative intuition—of uncivilised man, which Croce drew from Giambattista Vico, and which, with its implications of a natural evolution of humanity and religion, of hostility to intellectualism, and championship of the concrete sciences and of history, is the ground of that enthusiastic admiration which he feels for the lonely Neapolitan thinker of the early eighteenth century.

The further form of the theoretic activity, which implies æsthetic intuition as its condition precedent, is conceptual thought, the province of Logic and Philosophy. We might say, as a first approximation, that intuition supplies the subjects to which the concept furnishes the predicates. Only, things or events—the subjects of individual judgments—already imply a knowledge charged with conceptual elements, and constructed by the judgment of perception. So that such a statement must be taken to mean no more than that intuition is an element in all judgment, though not furnishing, by itself, so much as the determinate subject of any.

The concept, however, carries us at once into logic and philosophy; and the peculiarity of Croce's logical theory lies in the limitation of what he recognises as the true concept, and the consequent ejection from logic of the greater part of what it is commonly supposed to include.

Logic is the science of the 'pure concept.' The 'pure concept' is the close-linked circle of thought-forms which define the activities of the spirit, and are one with the soul of reality—which might also be called the categories. For they alone are the spirit of thought, which every object contains, but which no multitude of objects can exhaust; such terms as quality, for example, or beauty, or final cause.* Not that logic deals with the whole circle of these necessary ideas. The chain which they form is the whole range of philosophy, whereas logic deals only

* 'Logic,' Tr., p. 20.

with the single link which belongs to it, the concept of the concept, which is one with the judgment and the syllogism. Indeed, the position, in Croce's system, of the system itself, the philosophy as a whole, is not at first sight perfectly plain. There seems no place for it except in logic; but in logic, we are plainly told, it is not included.

However this may be, we have to consider the contents of logic itself. The drastic elimination we referred to results from identifying language with æsthetic expression, and confining logic to the study of the pure concept. For logical distinctions derived from the study of words as 'parts of speech,' torn out of their true expressive context, are rejected as 'formalistic,' that is, as falsely formal; in other words, as empirically derived notions pretending to be rational.* And current [class-conceptions, 'cat,' 'house,' 'rose,' are banished as arbitrary and empirical—exhaustible by a finite number of presentations and so foreign to the pure concept; while mathematical ideas are excluded as unreal abstractions. Only two types of judgment survive, the individual and the universal, that is, the historical or perceptive judgment and the definition; and ultimately only one, namely, the historical judgment as synthesis of individual and universal, in which philosophy is unified with history, and which is rightly assigned an existential character. For the definition, when restored to the context which gave rise to the question which it answers, is considered to have been identified with the historical judgment. Such distinctions as those of the grammatical subject and predicate, the hypothetical and disjunctive judgment, the moods and figures of the syllogism, or property and accident, are thrown aside as capriciously derived from an invalid analysis of language. And the severance of the natural sciences, their laws and classifications, from true logical thought, precludes any attempt to pursue the adventure of reason into the world of presumptive implication; that is, to explain the relations of what have been called Induction and Deduction, or to connect the law of Identity with the Uniformity of Nature. A question might be raised whether such a

* 'Logic,' Tr., 136.

logic does not forfeit more of rationality by its narrowness than it gains by its purity. All that philosophy can truly say of nature lies for Croce, like philosophy as a whole, in the full interpretation of the perceptive or historical judgment. History, as the interpretation of individual fact, is one with philosophy. And nature, considered as physical, is a creation of abstract natural science, but so far as it can be considered real, falls within history. There is no sense in a philosophy of nature over and above science, or in a philosophy of history over and above history. They would be simply science and history superfluously re-edited.

Such is the theoretical form of spirit with its two subforms *Æsthetic* and *Logic*, to each of which one of Croce's systematic treatises is devoted. The practical form of the spirit falls into subdivisions symmetrical with these, the *Economic* and the *Moral Will*, the treatment of which is included in a single volume, the '*Philosophy of Practice*.'

As the theoretical spirit begins with intuition so the practical spirit begins with wants. The will directed to 'one's own particular end' (*fine suo particolare*)* is what Croce calls the 'economic' activity of the spirit; and with its satisfaction or dissatisfaction there arise the feelings of pleasure and pain. For he does not recognise feelings as a third type of experience in addition to thought and will; he takes them as one with elementary practical activity *qua* successful or unsuccessful. The 'economic' will, then, is the condition of the moral will, and, so to speak, its vehicle. 'As æsthetic intuition knows the phenomenon or nature, and philosophic intuition the noumenon or spirit; so economic activity wills the phenomenon or nature, and moral activity the noumenon or spirit.'†

In the recognition of the economic activity Croce considers that he has done justice to the relative truth of Utilitarianism. For there cannot be a will which is not directed to the supply of some particular want, a will which is not useful or purposive in the sense of being directed to some end or other.

Here, as in æsthetic experience, the question of

* '*Estetica*,' 65.

† '*Æsthetic*,' Tr., p. 98.

priority raises a difficulty. Though we are expressly warned that the economic will is not definable as egoism, and that morality must be held to cover the whole province of conduct, yet it is clear from the paradoxical examples of 'economic' merits which are offered for our admiration—in Iago, Cæsar Borgia, Farinata, Ser Ciappelletto*—that the economic volition is capable of being ideally considered as a stage independent of morality and akin to some specially self-seeking quality in the will. And, although Croce has launched an annihilating criticism at the utilitarian theory when considered as denying the distinctively moral volition,† yet he says in so many words that this economic form of will is 'individual, hedonistic and utilitarian.'‡ A question might be raised whether the phrase quoted above '*fine suo particolare*' is not equivocal as between the particularity of the want subserved, and the privateness of the advantage which it represents to the agent. The particular wants of unreflective human beings are not necessarily hedonistic or especially self-regarding. Even the lower animals have direct impulses to self-sacrifice. And it looks as if, from a prejudice that in beginning with particular wants or needs we must be beginning with private pleasure or advantage, a confusion had arisen, covered by the common term 'economic,' between the character of highly deliberate phases of irrational self-indulgence, and that implied in ordinary particular desires which terminate upon their objects. The reason is plain, if we consider the formula of Croce's scheme. The unreflective particular wants suggest the idea of priority; the highly deliberate indulgence of criminal propensities confirms a contrast with the moral will, and yet indicates a compatibility with methodical reflective economics which is lacking to the particular wants that were the point of departure. But the 'economic' merits of Iago are surely ethical qualities—his courage, his unity of purpose, his tenacity. They belong to that trace of morality which Plato found in the honour that must prevail amongst thieves; and he was right in arguing that to be utterly immoral is to be utterly

* 'Æsthetic,' Tr., 93; 'Practice,' Tr., 315.

† 'Practice,' Tr., p. 325.

‡ Ibid., p. 315.

impotent in action. The relative independence of the economic will is not a priority but an acquisition. It is independent only by permission of morality, and within limits set by social organisation.

In the analysis of this supposed primary will, there seems to be some confusion between the 'useful' and the 'utilitarian.*' We in England have good cause to desire that these conceptions should be distinguished. It is true, as is currently said of us, that our mind is favourable to the 'useful'—the purposive, the serviceable, the instrumental. It is not true, as is apt to be inferred, that it is inclined to the utilitarianism of theory, that is, to a creed based on pleasure-seeking, and especially on the seeking of private pleasure. The 'usefulness' we appreciate has always a concrete end, and has no connotation whatever of private advantage. There is nothing to prevent it from being perfectly collective or altruistic in its bearing. It was a death-blow to Utilitarianism in England when the theory was perceived to imply the pursuit of an abstraction. But the apparent connexion between usefulness and Utilitarianism continues to calumniate us in the eyes of the world; and literary confusion occasionally supports the fallacy. Thus the 'Concise Oxford Dictionary' defines Utilitarianism as 'the doctrine that an action is right if it is useful.' But, strictly speaking, the Englishman's 'usefulness' and the Utilitarian's 'utility' are in polar opposition.

The ethical form of the spirit's activity is the will which wills the universal end, by means of and within the particular objects, which, as the system of economic wants, are its vehicle and condition. It may be doubted whether the introduction of the relative Utilitarianism leaves this relation perfectly clear. Certainly, in our higher interests as in all our actions, we want what we want, and to get what we want is so far pleasant. But it is another thing to say that what we want, when we act, is the pleasure of getting what we want. What we want is the thing we desire, it may be our neighbour's ruin or his good, but not the pleasure of satisfying our want. The distinction is familiar in the hedonistic

* 'Practice,' Tr., 337, *seqq.*

controversy, but it is a question whether Croce sufficiently recognises it.

It is important that in the doctrine of the moral will, the reality of freedom on the one hand and the unreality of evil on the other—truths difficult to conciliate—are both vigorously maintained. If the view is paradoxical yet it is a valuable side of truth, brilliantly expounded.

In the first place, volition is the act founded on the given situation. You are responsible for the whole of this, as material to be dealt with. You cannot say, 'I intended so well, but the situation divorced my will from my intention and made it bad.' Intention is coextensive with will. If you have to act in ignorance, you must accept your ignorance as part of the situation. You are aware of it; you take the responsibility of it, as you take the responsibility of your next step upon an ice-slope. Definite theoretical error, on the other hand, a different thing from ignorance, does not exist. We catch our breath at the paradox. What it means is this. To think is to think truly; to think falsely is not to think, but to do some convenient action of another kind—to be careless or slovenly or to lie. The argument applies to all ugliness, error, incoherence, and evil; it demands a moment's attention. It rests on an assured truth, that in all negation there is an assertion of some positive factor which excludes the term denied. So it is, then, with Croce, in error and evil. Both, not the latter only, are practical in their origin, and imply a positive action which replaces or excludes what should have been thought or done. A wife hands her husband in the dark the poisonous lotion in place of his medicine. (The example is not Croce's.) She thought it was the right bottle. The act has its rational explanation from the agent's point of view. The identification seemed to her sufficient. To pronounce it false cannot be the part of the agent at the time of acting; and the same applies to evil. To pronounce the knowledge false or the action bad is a comment made by one who is wiser or better. An error is then an act of slovenliness, of *parti pris*, of rebellion; together with a comment or desire in the spectator, 'There ought to have been here a genuine act of thought.' Thus Croce defends the Inquisition on the ground of the moral discipline essential to conscientious thinking. We

err only when we wish to err. It seems true that all error is due to one-sided emphasis. And this may well arise from indolence or bias, though surely, in the main, it is inherent in the finiteness of thought—a point of view which Croce appears to neglect.

Thus theoretical ignorance can never be pleaded as turning a good intention into a bad volition. But the point of the paradox is partly broken by a distinction between the action and the event. Volition and action are one, but action and event are two; because the event includes the actions of innumerable beings other than any single agent. Though you may judge an action by intention, therefore, you cannot judge it by success. If you judge morally in history, you must take care to judge not an event but an action.

The paradox above, stated, affects the reality of evil. Freedom, as we said at starting, is the creative work of the spirit as it transforms a given situation by the solution of the problem which it offers. But in every situation we are beset by innumerable solicitations, and we cannot do justice to them all. We may fail by passive acceptance, or by caprice, which are at bottom the same thing. The respect in which we fail, our passivity or non-will, what we let go or let be, is evil, the evil which is the shadow of good and its condition. Now, as we saw, evil, like error, cannot be such for the agent. His act, *de facto*, is a fulfilment of his want, and, for him, has its justification. Only in the comment of the better man, perhaps in that of the agent after the fact, 'Would it were otherwise!' does it reveal itself as evil. This gives us Croce's meaning when he says that as real, as a positive fact, it is not evil. It is only explicitly evil when and where its badness is revealed; but then and there it is no longer real. It is *ipso facto* rejected and overcome. Its positive poisonous reaction, we may think, is inadequately recognised.

From these ideas we are led to his 'dialectical optimism,' which translates into terms of good and evil the fundamental idea of reality as 'becoming,' as a struggle of 'being and not-being,' in which the negative is continually absorbed, to the enrichment of the positive. These conceptions are familiar; but in Croce's hands they are subordinated to the reservation we mentioned at starting,

that all transcendence, we might almost say all totality, is repudiated. The reality is itself a progress and in progress to infinity, though the attainment of the end—Croce is aware of the fate of Tantalus*—is not infinitely deferred, but is continuously achieved. Cosmic advance is necessary and demonstrated.

'From the cosmic point of view, at which we now place ourselves, reality shows itself as a continuous growing upon itself; nor is a real regress ever conceivable, because evil, being that which is not, is unreal, and that which is is always and only the good. The real is always rational, and the rational is always real. Cosmic progress, then, is itself also the object of affirmation, not problematic but apodictic.'†

'The work of the spirit is not finished and never will be finished. Our yearning for something higher is not in vain. The very yearning, the infinity of our desire, is proof of the infinity of that progress. The plant dreams of the animal, the animal of man, man of superman; for this, too, is a reality, if it be reality that with every historical movement man surpasses himself. The time will come when the great deeds and the great works now our memory and our boast will be forgotten, as we have forgotten the works and the deeds, no less great, of those beings of supreme genius who created what we call human life, and seem to us now to have been savages of the lowest grade, almost men-monkeys. They will be forgotten, for the document of progress is in *forgetting*.'‡

'Man does not seek a God external to himself and almost a despot, who commands and benefits him capriciously; nor does he aspire to an immortality of insipid ease; but he seeks for that God which he has in himself, and aspires to that activity which is both life and death.'§

It is characteristic of Croce that the positive account of the ethical will is brief. The universal is the object of the whole philosophy of the spirit; and there is nothing special to reveal when you come upon it in moral philosophy. You may call it the whole, life, freedom, progress. There is no prerogative insistence on the social origin of moral content. The social situation is a situation like another; each has its requirements. He is clear that

* 'Saggio sullo Hegel,' p. 163.

† 'Practice,' Tr., 258.

‡ 'Practice,' Tr., 253.

§ Ibid, 261.

happiness is activity, and that to will the good, that is, to will activity, and to be happy, are the same thing.

Two more points must be noted before we leave the philosophy of practice. First, that nature as it is, not the abstract physical nature of science, participates in evolution, and *therefore* is conscious. And secondly, that, whereas at first knowledge seemed the condition precedent of practice, it is now clear that practice, the creation of reality, is no less the condition of knowledge. Reality is an eternal circle between the two.* To some students this will seem ominous. They will reflect that 'Certainly hitherto we have found everywhere that an unresting circle of this kind [between thought and will] is the mark of appearance.'† To this question we must return.

In attempting to appreciate the system which has been thus imperfectly sketched, it will be necessary to pursue a point of view on which Croce himself has laid great stress, as his essential difference from Hegel. Our object is not to criticise historically his reading of that thinker's ideas, but to illustrate his position by comparison with a substantial truth which emerges from Hegel's teaching, as from that of many great philosophers before him.

The point in question is the nature of reality as a whole, and of the criterion by which philosophy can appreciate it; in other words, the unity implied in experience, and the principle of metaphysic.

We may approach it thus. Croce has developed, in an essay which is the logical keystone of his philosophy,‡ a fundamental objection to the course of Hegel's dialectic. He points out, what is an obvious fact, that there is a plain difference between the relation to each other of positive terms and their negations, such as being and not-being, true and false, and that of conceptions both of which are positive, and which are consistent with each other, though distinct, such as truth and beauty, which according to his system are separate phases of the spirit. Now Hegel's dialectic, the process by which in his logic a progress arises through the conciliation of opposites

* 'Practice,' Tr., p. 302. † Bradley, 'Appearance and Reality,' p. 474.

‡ 'Saggio sullo Hegel.'

in more complete ideas, treats both these types of connexion alike—that of positive and negative terms, and that of terms both positive, but distinguished from each other—as degrees in a logical progression. This identical treatment Croce holds to be irrational. He confines the principle of advance by absorption of negations—dialectic proper—to such cases as the progression from being through not-being to becoming, or from truth through falsehood to a richer truth. The unity in distinction of positive phases of the spirit, as of beauty with truth or with goodness, seems to him to be of a different order. These terms do not appear to him to be abstractions; and the movement from one to the other he treats as a circle or an alternation, there being no internal contradiction within each to suggest a transition to a higher totality. We judge from his attitude that he does not recognise the simple and fundamental principle of the reasoning. I quote from a master of logic—

‘The opposition between the real, in that fragmentary character in which the mind possesses it, and the true reality felt within the mind, is the moving cause of that unrest which sets up the dialectical process.’ ‘The datum is felt insufficient, and as such is denied. But in and through this denial the reality produces that supplement which was required to complete the datum, and which very supplement, forefelt in the mind, was the active base of the dissatisfaction and the consequent negation. *The important point is that, on this second view, both sides of the correlation are positive, and one is not the mere denial of the other.*’ *

The *coincidentia oppositorum*, the advance by contradictions, is for Croce, so far as we can see, a method of which no rationale need be offered, and which is restricted, in harmony with its paradoxical appearance, to abstract terms and their negations. But in truth there is a sound and universal rationale. It is the law of implication, *ex pede Herculem*. You incur contradiction in affirming a partial datum as such, because of the immanence of the whole. This is the criterion; coherence and comprehensiveness together are the test of wholeness, that is, of reality. In remarkable passages Croce refuses to find within such an experience as beauty

* Bradley, ‘Principles of Logic,’ 381–2. Italics the present writer’s.

any contradiction which could explain the transition, say, to truth.* This confirms the suggestion that he does not connect the nature or movement of reality with the conception of a whole.

But the conception seems indispensable, even to account for the facts as he assumes them. And it leaves us free to examine all experiences on their merits as degrees of reality. There ceases to be any ground for Croce's criticism on the dialectic, that it represents substantial experiences, such as art, history, and the natural sciences, as imperfect forms of philosophy, destroying the 'autonomy' of the forms of the spirit.† It is remarkable that the worst of such errors, the treatment of æsthetic experience and of religion as forms of knowledge, are adopted by Croce himself, though not, in our belief, justly attributable to Hegel.

If we attach importance to this point of view, a good deal may be reconsidered which has given us pause in Croce, without destroying the value of his resolute anti-transcendentalism.

He denounces uncompromisingly, for instance, the ideas of metaphysics, of a general philosophy, of a single persistent problem to which all philosophy must address itself. But we found that we could not refer his two movements of the real to a single mainspring. We could discover no logical principle in his 'degrees of reality.' We could not believe that his partial phases of the spirit are severally free from internal contradiction. So that, although we may rejoice in his repudiation of any 'other' world which cannot be established as the right interpretation of 'this,' it still seems to us that philosophy is mutilated if we do not recognise as its central problem the nature of reality, its degrees, and its criterion. It is, we cannot help believing, for want of such an inherent order that an artificial symmetry has been adopted. There is a simple test. The scheme allows no implication forwards. Æsthetic and Economic respectively are implied in what succeeds them, but do not imply it. Now implication depends on the whole immanent in the parts. Where there are parts without implication,

* 'Logic,' Tr., 103; 'Saggio sullo Hegel,' 65.

† 'Saggio sullo Hegel,' p. 83.

parts which are not more than themselves, you have no true whole of reality and no philosophical system.

We may return for a moment to the æsthetic experience. We saw that its priority was doubtful. It is an innocence; but it is an acquired innocence. Nor is æsthetic one with linguistic. If we take all expression to be language, we must still consider expression to be content no less than content is expression; and, if we give the word 'language' its full significance of speech, which involves the analysis of ideas into other ideas, the doctrine comes to be two removes from truth. It is a triumph of art to subordinate speech to beauty, but speech in itself has other aims. And we regret that, by identifying expression with inward intuition, Croce is led wholly to deny the æsthetic significance of physical media, and to reject all enquiry into distinctions between the fine arts founded upon their differences. 'Externalisation' is for him a mere practical act, subsequent upon 'intuition,' which is purely ideal. It has no æsthetic function, but is merely instrumental to preserving and reproducing the beauty created by inward imagination. Now grant him that the physical world is nothing but spirit. Then he must not annul its significance, but must translate it into spiritual terms. The discipline of the soul through the body, the artist's delight in his mastery of the plastic media, constitute the training of the determinate imagination which is made one with the spirit of things in some special world of beauty. It is a poor idealism which robs the soul of its body. Logically considered, again, æsthetic experience is not knowledge, but has a fundamentally different character. In it, idea and existence are unseparated; and it thus peculiarly anticipates the character of the whole reality. Practice and theory are both, we might say, discursive. In both the idea is opposed to the existence, though in each the adjustment is differently effected.

Beside the subordination of æsthetic and economic, we have to note the exclusion of 'other spiritual forms' for which the system can find no place.* Such are sociality, religion, metaphysic. For example, 'Religion is nothing but knowledge, and does not differ from its

* 'Æsthetic,' ch. viii.

other forms and subforms.' 'There is nothing left to share with religion'; that is to say, the other forms and subforms occupy the whole domain.* Some of us, on the other hand, agree with a weighty judgment: 'The man who demands a reality more solid than that of the religious consciousness, seeks he knows not what.† What is it, then, finally, that Croce desires to reject in repudiating transcendence? And what attitude does he adopt in consequence towards the fundamental contentions of recent philosophy?

In a very plain-spoken paper he insists on the idea that philosophy is nothing more than the methodology of history-writing.‡ This would naturally mean that philosophical conceptions are purely instrumental to the ordering and elucidation of historical data. And he undoubtedly intends to insist on some conclusion of this nature, although it does not follow that such conceptions are pure postulates or fictions.

What he has primarily in mind, when he denies transcendence, is, I should venture to think, the Catholic creed and philosophy, which in the judgment of Gentile, a thinker much in harmony with Croce, is the pre-eminent heir and representative of other-worldliness (Gentile's 'Il Modernismo'). Thus religion becomes a creed, and metaphysic a theology. It is in this sense, in the main, that Croce repudiates both. ? false.

But he also plainly rejects, and with some contumely, the Absolute, and the Reality contrasted with Appearance, of Hegel and of some kindred philosophers.§ His logical point in this rejection is that he takes these forms of experience not as inclusive of what is relative and apparent, but as parts of existence selected *qua* superior in nature to other parts, that is, as sharing the character which makes the thing in itself essentially an 'other world.' We cannot here discuss whether this is fair to Hegel. Nor can we be certain whether Croce would apply it to the absolutist theory familiar to us in England. We, of course, should deny its applicability.

It is noticeable that Croce assents to the use of such

* 'Æsthetic,' Tr., 102, 104. † Bradley, 'Appearance and Reality,' 449.

‡ 'Teoría,' 136 ff.; 'Filosofía e Metodología.'

§ 'Teoría,' p. 144; 'Saggio sullo Hegel,' p. 162.

expressions as Absolute,* God, religion, metaphysic, in his own sense of the words. Therefore he admits an absolutism unaffected by the comic hue which he finds in the absolutist of to-day.† But what he understands by such terms appear to be the forms of the spirit in their re-entrant curve, and the human consciousness of them, taken as the self-consciousness of the reality whose progression they constitute. What he denies, I think, is the unity of things in a supreme inclusive experience, or of spirits in a human-divine nature especially aware of itself in the religious consciousness. This denial follows from his disregard of the principle of totality; and the rejection of metaphysic as the criterion of the real, addressed to the fundamental problem of philosophy, inevitably follows.

How far, we asked, does he recognise a universe? Reality is a progress to infinity, and does not merely include infinite progressions. Therefore perfection, if there is to be any, must lie in the series itself, and this has familiar difficulties, which we saw that Croce endeavours to escape (supra, p. 370). It is a hard saying, for instance, that the greatest things we have yet known are destined to be forgotten, especially as the human world seems sometimes to be treated as the universe. There is, however, a constant universe in respect of the categories such as beauty and truth. Reality surpasses itself *ad infinitum*, but does not surpass these. But again he has an instructive objection to a dialectic movement which comes to an end. If it has a *raison d'être* at all, why not go on for ever? This shows how he ignores the principle that the mover is the immanent whole. For him, we suspect, there is no whole for the abstractions to return to. But the genuine infinite, we should urge, though inexhaustible, is self-complete.

And we must note that inclusive transcendence is involved in Croce's own conceptions. There is the unity of past and present in history; 'all history is contemporary.' This implies a reality which includes appearances. The unity is obviously different from what the individual directly experiences,‡ and is more real.

* 'Practice,' Tr., p. 302.

† 'Si tinge di comico,' 'Teoria,' 145.

‡ 'Philosophy of Vico,' Tr., p. 113.

But much that has happened is, on his view, irrevocably gone. It has become a thing in itself, for it is an inaccessible real. The universe, if there is one, arbitrarily ejects portions of itself.

Finally, what is that religion, the only religion he admits, which is superseded and replaced by philosophy? There are two possible answers.

If we take philosophy to be a strictly speculative activity, which is surely the literal truth, then a religion, destined to be replaced by it, must be a theoretical doctrine; and this is what Croce seemed to say clearly that religion is. If so, we may venture to affirm, he simply and totally ignores the religious consciousness.

But another possibility is worth mentioning. Philosophy may in a sense replace religion if it contains, but elucidates, the genuine religious experience. But then it is no longer philosophy literally taken. It has been made into more than it necessarily is. Religion, the individual's self-subordination to supreme power and goodness—supernaturalism has nothing to do with the matter—will still be the most solid fact in the world. But philosophy—and this is how Hegel understood it, for the Absolute spirit includes and does not supersede its forms—would have for its task

'to show that religion is the truth, the complete reality, of the mind that lived in Art, that founded the State, and sought to be dutiful and upright; the truth, the crowning fruit of all scientific knowledge, of all human affections, of all secular consciousness. Its lesson [that of philosophy] ultimately is that there is nothing essentially common or unclean; that the holy is not parted off from the true and the good and the beautiful.'*

This conclusion would be a consequence of the attitude for which reality is the whole; and we should like to believe that so remarkable a thinker as Croce is not unsympathetic to it.

BERNARD BOSANQUET.

* Wallace, 'Hegel's Philosophy of Mind,' Introduction, p. xlv.

Art. 7.—A CRETAN PROPHET.

1. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. Edited by H. Diels. Vol. II, pp. 185–194. Berlin: Weidmann, 1912.
2. *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv, Bishop of Hadatha*. Edited and translated by Margaret D. Gibson, with an introduction by J. Rendel Harris. Vol. iv (Acts of the Apostles), 1913: vol. v, Part ii (The Epistles of Paul the Apostle), 1916. Cambr. Univ. Press.
3. Article on Epimenides. By Otto Kern. Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*.
4. Articles by J. Rendel Harris, in the *Expositor*, 1906, p. 305, 1907, p. 332, 1912, p. 348, 1915, p. 29; T. Nicklin, in the *Classical Review*, March 1916, p. 33; H. J. Lawlor, in the *Irish Church Quarterly*, July 1916, pp. 180–193; and Hugo Gressmann, in the *Philologische Wochenschrift*, July 1913, p. 935.

WHEN a great Cretan is reviving national cohesion and definiteness of aim, as well as patriotism and honesty, in the Hellenic nation, the memory recurs of a Cretan in ancient history, who played his part in remodelling Athenian life and policy. Crete has always offered a refuge for fragments of races, and has thus been a microcosm of the Eastern Mediterranean world from the time of Homer onwards; and it is in accordance with past history that the great Cretan of our day should bear the name of 'the Venetian,' and embody that mixture of races which has made Crete important in spite of its remoteness from Greece and its comparatively small size and unproductiveness. The old Venetian settlers, mainly aristocratic adventurers of enterprising character, have made an indelible impression on mediæval and modern Crete; but this page of history has never been written.

It was because Crete contained such a mixed population that it was important in the development of Hellenism and Hellenic unity of feeling as distinguished from the Greek or Græco-Asiatic type of civilisation out of which it grew. That fine product which we call Hellenism, with its freedom of view in politics and society, its delicate perception of symmetry in art and literature, its bold confidence in the individual man as

the governor of his own life, was evolved amid the strife of nations in the Levant and the Ægean from the amalgamation of many diverse tribes. Hellenism was a product so many-sided that it could not arise amid a homogeneous race; so delicate that the proper balance of the various racial characteristics which produced it could not last very long; so important in the development of modern society that it cannot lose its value for us; so unique in type that it can never cease to interest educated men.

The enigmatic figure of the Cretan prophet, poet and religious lawgiver, Epimenides, is eminent in Athenian historical tradition in the sixth century B.C. He stands on the step from the old religion (let us call it Græco-Anatolian) to the new Olympian religion of Hellenism, fully conscious of the character, and sympathetic with the ideals, of both. He was a vigorous personality, sound in body and mind, who lived a long life through a period of rapid development, and appreciated the great changes that occurred around him. It is a poor and niggardly criticism which denies his historical character, because he altered with his times instead of standing self-consistent and unmoved amid a changing world. Epimenides lived amid the rapid development of Hellenism in the sixth century B.C., growing with the time and helping to guide the progress of history; and German critics cannot see the process.

In a superficial view Epimenides does not inspire confidence. The few scraps preserved from his works do not correspond to his reputation, or afford sufficient ground for the eminence ascribed to him in tradition; but they have never been reasonably interpreted according to the nature of early thought. Epimenides is encrusted with legend (e.g. he slept for 57 years in a cave); and he became a centre round which gathered much folklore. The same thing happens in all periods to certain outstanding figures, not merely in the remote dawn of history, but even at the present day. There have always been figures in Oxford university life who become encrusted with stories, some of which isolate and exaggerate one feature in a complex personality, while others show the man in an unreal character as the undergraduate conceives him. The Jowett who was

created by several generations of undergraduates is an example of the former kind of travesty; the latter kind is more complex. Yet there must be some reason for these mythical or semi-mythical caricatures.

One serious argument against the historicity of the Cretan prophet is chronological. The immense reputation which he enjoyed in all later Greek tradition is based on his visit to Athens; he was invited to purify that city from the guilt incurred when the adherents of Cylon were massacred about 612 B.C. The idea gradually formed itself that this crime was followed quickly by the purification; and the general belief, shared even by Aristotle, was that Epimenides visited Athens about 600 B.C. Plato, however, says that the visit was made about 500 B.C. That alleged first visit is due to later misinterpretation of old religious ideas. Guilt lasted even to the third and fourth generation. In Athens the guilt remained; it was used as a party weapon, and played a great part in politics for a full century. Solon attempted to atone for the guilt, but failed; he employed legal means, whereas this guilt was a religious fact and could not be expiated except by religious means.

Attic tradition mentions no second visit made by Epimenides; he came once and was successful. On his complete success depends his place in the historical memory of Greece. He was not a figure of the developed Hellenic science with the purely Hellenic outlook on life; there was about him something of the 'medicine-man' and the seer of visions. Such a personage cannot survive failure. The reputation of the Cretan seer was founded on an eminent and instantaneous success. No supposition of a second visit to repair the failure of the first can account for his position in the Greek world. He swept away, once and for ever, the guilt and terror of a bad episode in Athenian history, and in achieving this result he did much more.

The eminent witness is Plato, who in 'The Laws' twice refers to the Cretan with the highest respect. Plato describes an incident that occurred about forty years before his own birth and impressed his people both as epochal, because from it originated the alliance between Athens and Cnossos, and as regenerative, because this

Cretan was one of the great inventors who carried out in practice what Hesiod had preached of old, applying precepts of reason and forethought about healthy life to reform the thought and conduct of Athens. Plato clearly refers to an historical fact. Not even the most sceptical of critics imagines that he can be inventing a tale or apologue; yet no one explains how a legendary Epimenides could so quickly impose himself on Athenian memory as a real personage. The Cretan, the Spartan, and the Athenian who talked about him, all recognised in him not only a real person worthy to be ranked alongside of the great discoverers of ancient days, but 'actually a man of yesterday.'

Plutarch is one of our principal authorities. He lays great stress on the important effects produced by the visit of Epimenides. He describes the Cretan as a great religious figure, who was thought by his contemporaries to be of divine or semi-divine origin, and who purified Athens, reformed the spirit of Athenian life, and changed the half-Oriental features of Attic religion into the more orderly and restrained tone of Hellenism. He tells how Epimenides, by means of certain methods of propitiation and purification and by religious foundations, raised the standard of piety in the city, made the citizens obedient to the spirit of religious law, and put an end to the rage of partisan strife; and he relates a story which connects this visit with the period following the expulsion of the Peisistratidæ about 510 B.C., though he draws no chronological inference from the story. Then after describing the immense effect produced by the visit of the Cretan seer, he resumes the narrative of intestine war, and describes how the old partisan bitterness continued as before. The account is self-contradictory; but, if we read Plutarch in the light of Plato, with Plato's date in our minds, the narrative becomes luminous and self-consistent.

The Cretan belief in Epimenides, as a person whose 'ingenuity does indeed far overleap the heads of all their great men' and as one of the outstanding personages in history, culminated in his apotheosis. He was regarded as 'a divine man,' and 'a favourite of the gods,' to whom they revealed the truth, and as 'a new Koures' or god-priest teaching religious ritual. The Cretan

worship of the deified Epimenides, taken in conjunction with the impression that he made on the Athenian people, is good evidence. To us the very phrase, 'the god Epimenides,' savours of legend. To the early Greeks it was the proof of truth and national importance. Man became at death a god to his own circle of worshippers. The cult of Epimenides was common to a whole city. Brasidas was worshipped at Amphipolis by those whom he saved in 422 B.C.

An early tradition, mentioned by Aristotle and Plutarch, placed Epimenides among the Seven Wise Men. This alone would be proof of historical character. The Seven stand at the threshold of Hellenic history, figures of real importance when Hellenism was being worked into form. A place among the Seven in early tradition is a guarantee of historic reality, for the Seven are the expression of Hellenic fame and historical memory. The Seven all impressed themselves strongly on Greek national history, as distinguished from the politics of a single city; and they must be regarded as real personages of pan-Hellenic quality. Some Hellenes were revolted by the idea that the tyrant Periander should rank among the Seven, and preferred Epimenides in his place; this preference proves, and is founded upon, that general Hellenic respect and admiration which Plato attests. Maximus of Tyre, a rhetorician of the second century after Christ, was certainly acquainted with Plato's allusions, and he read them in the same way.

'There came to Athens also (he says) another Cretan named Epimenides. . . . He was marvellously skilled in the things of God, so that he saved the city of the Athenians when it was perishing through pestilence and sedition; and he was skilful in these matters, not because he had learned them, but, as he related, long sleep and a dream had been his teachers. . . . He had come into relations with the gods and the oracles of the gods and Truth and Justice.'

The story of the 57 years' sleep arose out of these words in Epimenides' Theogony; the expression of a poet was construed too literally; and the number of years was fixed by creative fancy. Maximus twice refers to this passage, which doubtless occurred early in the poem.

The tradition is transmitted also through Aristotle,

Plutarch, Strabo, Pausanias and numerous later writers, chronologists and scholiasts. Diogenes Laertius, upon whose work mainly depends our knowledge of the lives of the Greek philosophers, gives a fairly long account of Epimenides, and quotes the high authority of Timæus and Theopompus, the dubious Myronianus, and Xenophanes, the oldest authority of all. Works of Epimenides are quoted by Aristotle and many later writers and scholiasts; but all are condemned as spurious by the German critics and their disciples, except only the 'Theogony' and the 'Cretica,' which they generally identify with one another and with the 'Oracles.' If testimony of this order is to be set aside as insufficient, we may as well abandon the attempt to investigate Greek history.

The intermixture of myth with historical fact in the accounts of Epimenides has caused unjustifiable scepticism, in which recent German scholars have run riot. The standard is set by Wilamowitz, the ablest and most forceful of German Greek scholars, who declares that Epimenides is a mere invention of political expediency, called into being in the passion of party strife during the sixth century. In a few sentences he dismisses Epimenides from the world of history, and places him in the world of political squabbling and falsehood. This theory is generally accepted by recent German authorities. Just as one political party introduced the goddess herself into the strife, when she, in the guise of a tall Athenian girl wearing the sacred dress, brought back the tyrant to Athens, so (we are told) the same party invented an epiphany of an obscure local hero called Epimenides, a figure known only from the incidental reference of two or three scholiasts. But how could the great figure whom Plato described originate in that way through the projection into later history of a mythological name? It is as unreasonable to think that an invented Epimenides of 600 B.C. could become to Plato an eminent figure of yesterday, as to maintain that the Eleusinian Mysteries, which won the respect of Isocrates and Cicero, were only a device of vulgar superstition.

In contrast with the German authorities, the leading English scholars have invariably accepted Epimenides as a real person. There is something in his story which

appeals to the English mind, but to which the German is insensitive; English scholars would as soon discredit the story of Hermodios and Aristogeiton as that of the Cretan's visit to Athens. In this view history takes a different and evidently truer aspect. Under the tyrants Athens grew from a small town into an important city; but in this rapid increase it outgrew healthy conditions. The laws of sanitation, which the old religion had prescribed for small social groups, were quite inadequate for a large city. Athens was ripe for a pestilence; and, after the tyrants were expelled, the slackness and want of forethought which attended Athenian democracy aggravated the evils of city management, while party strife distracted attention. The result was as recorded by Maximus, Diogenes and others; a plague broke out.

In general, the ancient Hellenes were not a deeply religious people. They looked upon religion as a matter of municipal pride and magnificence; they considered that an important function of the gods was to enhance social enjoyment; and they could rarely resist the temptation to make fun even of the most sacred matters. The Greek character remains still the same, not merely from persistence of stock, but from the geographical influences amid which they live. The same mixture of irreverence, carried sometimes to derision of religious ideas, combined with strict adherence to traditional rites, and occasional recurrence to mere superstition, characterises the people at the present day. In a country village near Epidaurus, during the celebration of a marriage in the church, I have seen the officiating priest push the cup in order to spill the sacramental wine over the bridegroom's breast; and, when he was touching thrice in succession the heads of the bridal pair with the sacred book, he brought it down each time with a resounding thump on the head of the bridegroom, and the church rang with the laughter of the crowd. Yet, when the Hellenes are confronted with the scourge of plague, and death stares them in the face, religious awe revives.

Now it lay in the very nature of ancient religion to attribute all diseases, and especially fever (which was obscure in its origin and working), to the anger of the gods, provoked by some violation of the fundamental

principles of religious law as revealed by divine kindness to men. Events in Athens followed the usual course, exemplified in many Anatolian records of confession and expiation. People began to examine their conscience and their history, to discover the reason of this visitation; and they discovered it. The old guilt remained unexpiated. The violation of the suppliants' right of sanctuary had hung over the people from generation to generation; and the goddess now at last was punishing the outrage. The descendants of the murderers had returned to office and were among the leaders of the State. Again, and now voluntarily, the guilty family went into exile; but this was not enough. Panic terrors seized upon the city, ghosts were seen, and the sooth-sayers declared that the pollution required special purificatory rites. Fuller expiation was needed to clear the people from guilt; but, where Solon had failed, who should succeed? They must take refuge with the god (as Plato mentions), who alone could cure the sick State.

It was still customary to lay before the Oracle at Delphi the greatest matters of statesmanship as well as of religion; and this matter was not one merely of religion. The strength of Athens was sapped by the long partisan strife. The peril on the East from the growing power of Persia was looming before the mind of statesmen. Unity was imperative, and faction must cease in the presence of so many dangers. The god advised the Athenians to call in Epimenides, whose long life and theological writings, with his scientific and political knowledge, had made him a force in Hellenic development. He succeeded because he combined the old with the new religious sympathies. By ritual of the old type he satisfied the popular conscience, and washed their guilt away. By teaching new and higher conceptions of the divine nature and its relation to man he was a force in the development of the national mind. He made the step from the old to the new, understanding both and true to both.

It was necessary to convert public opinion to improved methods of sanitation; but nothing is more unpopular than health-restrictions. The British administration of India has experienced this difficulty. Similarly in Turkey a distinguished physician, who was called in

thirty years ago to advise about the spread of disease, reported that no remedy of any value could be reconciled with the social customs of the country. Epimenides convinced the popular mind, and raised the standard of conduct. He did not force on the people sanitary regulations; he appealed to old Græco-Anatolian custom, which enforced principles of social organisation and sanitation as religious rites. Those principles formulated the self-protective ideals which grew in the collective experience of society and were revealed to her people by the goddess through her prophets and priests. The religion of the family was older than the organisation of the city and stronger than the State law (as Antigone pleaded). This family religion was not fitted to develop into the religion of the city; it remained apart and inharmonious with the State; but it had to be subordinated to the convenience and safety of the organism. Hellenism regarded the individual as the member of a city; the sum of his rights and duties were the State religion; and Epimenides developed inchoate Athenian custom to suit the welfare and the sanitary law of the growing city.

He took a number of sheep, black and white, to the Hill of Ares, and there left them free to wander. Wherever any sheep lay down, an altar was built to the local god, known or unknown. The white sheep correspond to the bright deities of the Hellenic religion, and the black to the dark gods of the old order, connected with the world of death. He did not use this device in order to conciliate popular feeling by an appeal to superstition which he himself regarded as vulgar; he used it as being himself in that stage of religion. It was to him a right method of discovering the divine will, because it rested on the primary fact that the divine power is always striving to make men understand its wish and purpose, and men have only to look aright in order to discover the revelation. Further, he established various religious foundations, and erected images of the gods in the streets. His purpose was to impress on the Athenian mind the immediate presence of the divine nature in many manifestations, before which no impropriety is permitted, and everything must be holy and pure. The purpose and consequence was a complete purification of the city and the institution of healthy rules of life. The

effect lasted until the Peloponnesian War, when the concentration of the population of Attica within the narrow walls broke through all order and discipline; and, as has often happened in wars, the relaxation of the rules of good life resulted in a terrible outbreak of plague, which enforced anew the rules of Epimenides.

Epimenides performed a work imposed upon him, as Plato says, by the Delphic Oracle, that co-ordinating power in Hellenic progress. Popular imagination was impressed by the religious side of his work; but this was only one part of his activity, and the best authorities from Plato onwards lay more stress upon the political and social consequences of his action. The man who could produce such effect at Athens must have been of high intellectual order, although he touched the popular heart by using ritual forms. His action calmed the fears and steadied the minds of the Athenians before the great invasion. From his visit tradition dates a new Athens, engaged in new problems and forgetting the old. Previously the parties in Athens had fought for partisan ends; henceforth they followed national aims, though they advocated different means of attaining them. The political questions of the sixth century disappeared; the lines of party division were altered. To a great extent the change was due to the tremendous impact of the Persians, but the spirit and the measures of Epimenides co-operated; and it is only at the period assigned by Plato that his work is historically intelligible. An event that left such effect on national belief and conduct and ritual is no mere invention. The tradition bears the stamp of truth.

While the sympathy which Epimenides felt for the old religion enabled him to introduce his reforms, he lived in history as an innovator (according to Plato), as a creative reformer, and a maker of Hellenic city organisation. It is this side of his character that the German critics miss. They see the 'medicine-man,' and they can see no other. That Epimenides belonged to the new as well as to the old is hidden from them. Now, if Epimenides was an apostle of Hellenism, there must be traces of the new ideas in his writings. Most of the quotations are scraps of genealogical or mythological stuff such as was popular in Græco-Roman society and

formed a favourite subject of conversation at dinner-tables; but two brief references in Aristotle show the appreciation of a higher intellect. To him Epimenides was a philosophic interpreter of past history and a theoriser about the nature of society in that early stage when science was still half-poetic in expression. A group of persons living their life in common is called by Aristotle 'a house,' by Epimenides 'those who have the same smoke,'* and by the Sicilian law-giver Charondas 'those who have a common flour-bin.' Popular legend expressed the vulgar conception of Epimenides' scientific investigations on such subjects by saying that he lived on food supplied by the Nymphs, which he kept in the hoof of an ox and ate secretly; hence he was troubled by no natural evacuation (a belief which caused in India the deification of a modern hero). Plato describes the same investigations when he says that Epimenides perfected what Hesiod divined.

The bounds between medicine and religion were ill-defined; the crowd attached importance to the religious side and forgot the curative treatment. So at Epidaurus the records of cure show how the popular mind loved the unscientific. Those records, dedications to the god by patients cured at the temple, contain no trace of medical science. It has been wrongly inferred from this that at Epidaurus there was no proper medical treatment; but the uneducated dedicators recorded only the god's beneficent care of themselves. The fact that a certain regimen was prescribed did not interest them; only dreams and religious facts appealed to their mind.

Epimenides, then, was a scientific investigator and a philosophical thinker. Roger Bacon, who stands in a similar relation to religion and philosophy and science, was also surrounded with popular legend; and Michael Scott was so in an even more marked degree. Bacon prided himself more on his theological disquisitions than on his scientific investigations. Perhaps Epimenides did not appreciate fully his scientific position. His mission to Athens, undertaken by order of the Oracle, represents a step in the path towards Hellenic unity, which could be accomplished only through a common religious feeling.

* The word is altered by some modern critics; it ended a hexameter.

He investigated critically the nature of Delphian legend, interpreting the old religion, yet regarding it with the spirit of the Hellenes who desired to understand what he believed. There was a proverb that in respect of things hidden and mysterious the 'glance' (*δέρυμα*) of Epimenides was needed; but that archaic and poetic word, natural in an ancient proverb, lost one letter and became the prosaic *δέρμα*, the 'skin' of Epimenides. The fact that the name of the Cretan passed into a proverb adds something to the picture of his personality.

The Greeks had to live by their religion, not merely to talk about it like modern scholars (often with very faint conception of what religion is), and they saw in him a great religious figure; but his fame rested on a basis of knowledge and practical sense. He thought deeply about medicine and food and social science and the constitution of the family, and about the relation of all those subjects to the divine nature which was the main object of his study; and people said that he was a man beloved by the gods, one to whom they revealed their knowledge. Various works whose titles suggest philosophic or theosophic character are attributed to him, and condemned as forgeries by the German critics. But an opinion based on the assumption that he was unreal and invented needs revision, for his reality depends upon his position in the Hellenic world.

This brings us to Prof. Rendel Harris's brilliant identification of an Epimenidean fragment in Syriac translation, which illuminates the personality of the Cretan; and it is due to Mrs Gibson to acknowledge the scientific spirit in which she placed at Prof. Harris's disposal for publication the results of her work long before this had any chance of seeing the light. The only German critic who has written about Epimenides since Harris's discovery is Gressmann; but none of those who regard the Cretan as an invention of political chicanery will accept as genuine a fragment of a philosophic poem which they condemn as spurious.

In his letter to Titus in Crete, St Paul quotes, without naming him, a line from a Cretan poet, 'Cretans ever liars, noxious beasts, useless gluttons.' Further, in his speech at Athens (delivered before an audience of

Athenians, who crowded to hear an address from one whom they understood to be a candidate for recognition in the leading university of the world) he quotes from 'your own poets' half a line of Aratus, and also a line, 'in Him we live and move and exist,' whose metrical character is disguised by transformation from the Ionic dialect to the Attic and from the second person to the third. The changes, needed to suit the address, show the Apostle's usual freedom. His words imply two quotations from different poets, although the plain meaning was disregarded by modern commentators, until Prof. Harris saw the truth:

'He is not far from each one of us, for "in Him we live, and move, and have our being," as certain of your poets have said, "for we also are his offspring."'

The orator, addressing an educated audience, presses into his service quotations from philosophic poetry which was familiar to society at that time and harmonious with its spirit. The second quotation is taken from Aratus. Who was the author of the first? The Syriac commentary of Ishodad distinguishes the two quotations thus:

'Paul takes both of these from certain heathen poets. Now about this, "In Him we live," etc., because the Cretans said as truth about Zeus, that he was a lord; he was lacerated by a wild boar and buried; and behold! his grave is known amongst us; so therefore Minos, son of Zeus, made an address of praise on behalf of his father; and he said in it:

"The Cretans carved * a tomb for thee, O Holy and High!
Liars, hateful beasts, idle gormandisers!

For thou dost not die; ever thou livest and standest
firm;

For in thee we live, and are moved, and exist."

So therefore the Blessed Paul took this sentence from "Minos"; for he took again "We are offspring of God," from Aratus, a poet, who wrote about God.'

* Mrs Gibson has the present tense, but she writes to me that this is a mere slip in printing, as the imperfect is used in the Syriac. I vary the expression used by her in some details, mainly to attain brevity in the sequel.

We have here four lines from an 'address of praise' to the supreme god. The second is the line that St Paul quotes in the Epistle to Titus. Clement of Alexandria declares that Epimenides wrote that line; and Jerome mentions that, although several previous commentators had attributed the verse to Callimachus, yet the real author was Epimenides, who was freely imitated by the later poet. Diogenes says that Epimenides 'composed a work about Minos and Rhadamanthus, 4000 verses in length.' Ishodad then quotes from Aratus, not merely Paul's five words, but the text of about ten lines. As the original Greek is preserved, we can here judge of the character of the Syriac rendering; and its faithfulness is a guarantee of the trustworthiness of the translation from the 'Minos.'

This Syriac commentator (as Harris declares) is wholly dependent on Theodore of Tarsus; and his words present to us, therefore, the teaching accepted in the Christian Schools of Asia Minor in the fourth century, to the following effect (I combine the various sources). The Blessed Paul, surveying the religious monuments and institutions of the great centre of learning for the Greek world, was struck with the altar 'to an unknown god,' which rightly or wrongly he regarded as one of those raised in accordance with the instructions of Epimenides; and the connexion recalled to his mind a familiar passage of the Cretan poet, which he quoted in part to Titus. When he was required to address the Court of Areopagus, he took as his text the inscription on this altar and the lines in which Epimenides expressed his conviction about the Eternal God and His relation to man. This 'unknown god' of the altar was a witness to the deep religious feeling in the minds of the Athenians and a confession of ignorance of His true nature. Their own poets had taught truth regarding Him; but it remained for the modern teaching to reveal it fully.

Such is the plain and simple teaching of the fourth century, which is rejected by many modern critics because it runs directly in opposition to the opinions that they cherish. It assumes that St Paul wrote the Pastoral Epistles; it assumes that he was in Athens, and that he delivered a speech there which is reported faithfully in the Acts of the Apostles; but these assumptions are

dismissed as false. Gressmann regards the four lines quoted by Ishodad as a fabrication in Christian interest. There was no poem entitled 'Minos,' containing such a passage; there was only an allusion by Callimachus in his Hymn to Zeus, which was forged into a testimony to the truth of Pauline tradition, with the help of two quotations in pseudo-Pauline parts of the New Testament. This theory, however, is so artificial that it needs no detailed examination here, and I pass from it with only the criticism that in it there is neither reason nor even plausibility. If critics brush away the express statements of ancient learning, they can produce any result they desire; but a history of Greek literature must be founded on authority, and not on modern conjecture in defiance of ancient statements. While this passage of Callimachus resembles in part the lines quoted by Ishodad, it differs widely in spirit and in some details. No mere union of Callimachus with two quotations from the New Testament could produce those four lines; conscious forgery by Christian inventors has to be invoked.

There are only two hypotheses possible in a reasonable judgment. The first is that Ishodad's quotation came from a poem written in Hellenistic time, which purported to be the work of Epimenides but was really an exercise composed after his style in a school of rhetoric. Such exercises were frequently prescribed to pupils in the schools; and this artificial literature sometimes attained considerable excellence and reputation, and was regarded as genuine work of old writers, though it rarely deceived the good ancient critics. It is an allowable hypothesis that a poem 'Minos' had been composed in this way and had acquired wide acceptance as the work of Epimenides, and that this poem was familiar both to Paul from early philosophic training at Tarsus and to his hearers at Athens; for he clearly counted on their familiarity with the work and the certainty that they would connect it with Epimenides, just as they connected the altar with his famous purification of the city.

The other hypothesis is that the 'Minos' was written by Epimenides in later life, when his thought was developed in the Hellenic spirit. In either case the important fact is that this poem was accepted in Athens and in Tarsus as the work of the Cretan prophet. To

decide between these alternatives is a matter of no importance for Pauline criticism, but of real importance in Greek history and literature. Do we feel in these lines the spirit of Hellenic philosophy about 500 B.C., or have we a fragment of a late rhetorical exercise in the name of the ancient philosopher? This question is decided by a glance at the passage of Callimachus, which shows the tone in which literature, about 270 B.C., spoke of the same religious facts. In the Hymn to Zeus (vv. 8-11), Callimachus says:

'They say that thou, O Zeus, wast born in [Cretan] Ida's mountains, and that thou wast born in Arcadia. Which, O Father, spoke falsely? The Cretans are always liars; and this we know, for thy tomb, O King, the Cretans fashioned; but thou didst not die, for thou existest always.'

Compare the words of Callimachus with Epimenides. A hundred trains of thought open before the reader of the latter, but we here mention only one. Minos, the nominal speaker, reveals Epimenides describing his own experiences and lifework, just as Solon did in his poems. Part of his work was to do away with the Oriental tone in the religious ritual of Crete (as at Athens), to restrain the enthusiastic devotion of the worshippers, and to substitute the Hellenic tone of moderation for the vehement passion of Oriental ritual. The poet saw the celebration year by year of a festival in which the god died his annual death, and was mourned with Oriental devotion and vehemence. Then the worshippers found that the god was not dead, but was rising again to life; and the tone of the festival changed from unrestrained mourning to unrestrained rejoicing, and concluded with a ritual banquet in which the emotional strain of the vehement mourning was followed by an exhibition of gluttony and drunkenness. The devotees were 'noxious beasts' who lied about a dead god and mourned over his death, and feasted gluttonously in a rite which had no religious value.

Totally different is the spirit of Callimachus's lines. In the introduction to his Hymn he is speaking about traditional things. He is an antiquarian poet, not a religious reformer; he is not describing what he has seen; he is not filled with indignation against

worshippers who are misconceiving and outraging the god; hence he tones down the indignation which boils in Epimenides's denunciation of Cretan falsehood, the supreme falsehood that the god died. The whole effect of the introduction to the Hymn depends on its appeal to older literature and to authority; and excellent authority asserts that what Callimachus knew was the passage of Epimenides which Paul quotes. Paul could be confident that his Athenian auditors would understand the exordium of his speech and catch the reference to a famous incident in early Athenian history and the quotation from a Cretan poet who was closely connected with Athens. Epimenides places the reader in Crete. He sees before him the facts that he describes, and looks upon them in the spirit of a religious reformer, filled with indignation at what was done. A composition of a later age, bearing the name of the older poet, would not produce such an impression; these lines are a witness's testimony.*

To the older Græco-Anatolian conception of the gods as living and dying with the life of the year there succeeded the developed conception of the Olympian gods as ever young and strong and beautiful. According to that older view the divine life was the prototype and model for human life in all its relations; just as man dies, so also the god dies; and, if the god dies, he has a grave to which he is annually consigned. Epimenides expresses the horror with which Hellenism regarded such a hateful idea as the grave of a god. 'Thou dost not die; ever thou livest and art strong; for thou art the source and the basis and the strength of human life.' This is the true spirit of Hellenism. We know that the high and holy one lives and is permanent, because we derive life and being from him; and we infer from our own consciousness that the god to whom we owe our life must be eternal and permanent, the living god. There is nothing here of the Semitic direct perception of the divine nature. The Hellene is conscious of himself, and infers from himself what is the nature of god. Further,

* The retranslation from Syriac into Greek, especially Mr. Cooke's, neglects the Syriac tenses, prefers the tenses of Callimachus, and loses the directness of the witness.

the Cretans were religious liars, who deceived themselves annually in their vehement mourning for a dead god, and then found compensation in excessive enjoyment of food and drink.* Unrestrained ritual like this Epimenides detested; gorging oneself with food and drink brings no religious gain.

This passage of Epimenides made a deep impression on Paul. It recurs to his memory in various circumstances. Writing to Crete he quotes this Cretan poet; when he thinks of the altar raised by Epimenides he quotes the same passage. He trusts to the Athenians recognising it as a striking sentence, which sums up in brief the purpose of the poem. There is one other place, where perhaps Paul remembered these words. In writing to the Corinthians (1, xi. 21 *seq.*) he rebukes them for making the assembly of God a place to eat and drink, and even to drink to intoxication. The thought is similar, but there is no resemblance in the expression. Paul was in the last degree unlikely to intrude on the lofty plane of Christian thought expressed in that chapter any reference to pagan philosophical or religious literature; there was before his mind a picture of the scenes which were thought suitable at the pagan festivals, for every pagan brotherhood or society was united in the worship of some god, and each festival ended with a common meal where duty required and enjoined free indulgence; but Epimenides, who was in place at Athens, was out of place when Paul was writing to Corinthians about the nature of the Eucharist.

* Prof. Harris holds that the food which was eaten was the raw flesh of a living victim, torn by the worshippers. But the theory that Greek worshippers about 500 B.C. ate such a meal is a mere fancy. Raw flesh at an annual rite would never tempt into gluttony people accustomed to live on cooked food, for it is distasteful. The word which St Paul quotes describes admirably the Cretan festival, but is wholly unsuitable to raw flesh and a living victim.

Art. 8.—THE PSYCHOLOGY OF AN INTERNMENT CAMP. ✓

THE history of Ruhleben Civil Internment Camp is the history of a British Colony under foreign control. We were turned in there, in 1914, like cattle, with no kind of preparation made for us; but, unlike cattle, we were not content with our surroundings, and never ceased attempting to improve them. While I was in Ruhleben I remember reading, in a German paper, an account of an English Internment Camp for Germans, written by one of the repatriated prisoners. He drew an awful picture of the camp, and described how the poor Germans sat down and bemoaned their fate and could only keep their spirits up by singing German patriotic songs. That was not the sort of thing that happened at Ruhleben. In the first place we were not allowed to sing patriotic songs, and in the second place we had no desire to do so. British patriotism shows itself in a different way; with us it showed itself in a determination not to bemoan our lot, but to laugh at it and at the same time to improve it.

No sooner had we arrived there than energetic spirits began to organise things with a view to devising some means of passing away our time. One of the first organisations to start was the Debating Society, and it continued to meet regularly up to the end, in spite of the fact that we were never allowed to debate any subject that remotely bore upon the war or current politics. The debates were very well attended throughout, there being at times as many as four hundred people in the audience. The meetings took place, as did all our public gatherings, in the grand-stand, which was at first used as a barrack but was afterwards condemned as being unfit for human habitation. Before we got the use of the grand-stand, the debates took place in odd corners of the loft, or in the stable corridors.

Concerts, or rather sing-songs, were started as soon as we arrived, and it was not much later that the first play was put into rehearsal; but, by the time it came off, we had obtained the use of the grand-stand, and so were saved the difficulty of performing it in a barrack corridor. As we began to get things more organised, the musicians

sent out for their instruments, and the Musical Society began its most creditable history. We were fortunate in having among our number many really first-class musicians; and some of the most delightful concerts I have ever heard were given in Ruhleben. There must have been many there who were introduced to really good music for the first time, and who, by constantly hearing it, have had their taste cultivated as it would probably never have been but for Ruhleben.

As we had many professional musicians, so also we had a few professional actors and stage-managers. It was owing to their efforts that, bit by bit, our Theatre (the grand-stand) ceased to be amateur and became almost professional. Of course by far the larger number of those who acted had never acted before, but there was so keen a spirit in the management of the Theatre, and people put so much energy into the rehearsals and acting, that the quality of the performances was really remarkable. Members of the American and Dutch Embassies, who occasionally attended, were surprised at what was done. We had some really remarkable 'girls' on the stage, one or two of the men taking ladies' parts with wonderful skill. Such plays as 'Romance,' 'The Witness for the Defence,' 'Within the Law' and 'La Flambe,' in each of which the play hangs almost entirely upon the leading lady, were performed with great success. But perhaps the most remarkable performances of all were the musical operas. Most of the Gilbert and Sullivan plays were performed; and these were naturally big undertakings; as so many female voices were required. These plays were our greatest successes, and ran for two or three weeks in succession. We were going to attempt 'The Marriage of Figaro,' which was already in rehearsal, when the producer was released to Holland, and, as nobody else could be found to take on so arduous a task, the play was dropped.

One of the greatest activities of the Camp was the Camp School. It was started very early in our internment, though it was not till much later that, one of the stables being condemned as unfit to live in, we were able to get permanent space for the educational efforts of the Camp. The Camp School resembled a mediæval University more than anything else, for one

could learn anything there. There were elementary classes in reading, writing and arithmetic; there were commercial courses, including various foreign languages; and there were also lectures in the more usual academic subjects. Besides these there were other special courses for members of the Mercantile Marine who wished to get officers' tickets. Everybody who knew anything was pressed into the service of the School and made to take a class or give lectures; and a great debt of gratitude is owing to the many camp teachers who, often under great difficulties through lack of books, and at considerable inconvenience to themselves, placed their knowledge at the disposal of their fellow-prisoners. Later, we were able to get examination papers sent out from the London University, the Chamber of Commerce, etc.; and men actually took their examinations while interned prisoners. It requires a great deal of energy and moral courage for men to work up to the standard of London Matriculation and Intermediate, especially when many of them had to begin absolutely from the beginning, in such subjects as Latin, Greek and Hebrew. The scientists were among the most fortunate of the interned, for they were eventually able to get their instruments sent to them, and so could continue their own researches and also help other men to begin scientific courses.

The artistic side of things was by no means neglected; and we had among us several good artists, who produced some really beautiful work while they were in the Camp. Of course there were a great many people who painted and sketched in a more or less amateur way, and some very amusing caricatures were produced. Every now and then we used to have an exhibition of pictures, which were generally for sale, so that many were able to bring home interesting souvenirs of camp life.

In speaking of the educational side of the Camp, mention must be made of the Arts and Science Union, which undertook various educational activities, but whose chief function was the providing of really literary plays for one night in each week. As it continued its efforts during the whole four years, a very varied assortment of good plays and classical music was open to all members of the Camp. It also provided for the

performance of the works of German, Italian, French and Spanish writers in the original.

It was not until about March 1915 that we were able to rent a portion of the race-course to use for recreation. We were allowed on this small patch of ground for a few hours daily, and it was a great boon to us. We played all the games that are dear to our race, often accompanied by a good deal of danger, for the ground was so small that it was impossible to avoid accidents with such games as golf and cricket. The drives at golf used to cross each other, so that it will be easily imagined how many accidents took place. But nobody seemed to mind, the man that got hit always looking upon it as his own fault and being the first to apologise. Besides these games, boxing, fencing and physical exercise were practised.

Another activity in the Camp which did much to improve things was the Horticultural Society. It began by making little gardens in the compound. These minute patches of colour had a wonderful effect upon the jaded minds of men who never had a change of view or saw anything that was beautiful. It was very hard work to keep them in order, because the soil—a very fine sand—had been walked on for two years, and its natural lack of fertility had not been improved thereby. Later, the Horticultural Society managed to rent the other half of the race-course and turned it into a cabbage patch. Wonderful results attended the careful and industrious work put into this gardening effort; and we were enabled to buy a certain amount of fresh vegetables from time to time, although the supply was never commensurate with the demand.

From what I have said about the Camp organisation so far, it may seem to a reader who has never been a prisoner a life of endless pleasure, almost of dissipation; but of course there was another side of camp life, which of set purpose I wish to mention as little as possible, but which, in justice, I cannot pass over. The thing that told on all of us, on some of course more than others, was the utter emptiness of a prisoner's life. We were confined within a very narrow space during the whole of the four years; and the large majority of us never got outside the barbed-wire until after the Revolution,

when most of us took the opportunity of having a peep at Berlin. Unless one has been through such an experience, one can hardly realise what it means to be cooped up in such a way. It brings on a sort of nervous tension, which, for want of a better name, has been called barbed-wire disease. In its extreme form this disease ends in total loss of reason; but there are many phases before the final stage is reached, and we all suffered from it in some degree. Many—far too many—unfortunately lost their reason; and it was one of the saddest sights to see a man getting worse and worse, until at last he broke down entirely. Even after that, these poor fellows were often kept in the Camp for a long time before being removed to an asylum in Berlin. This was not only bad for them but very trying for the remainder of the camp, and of course very dangerous for nervous men who were fighting hard to avoid falling into a similar condition.

Again, the overcrowding was really a great hardship. We were packed as tight as men can be packed together. There were six men in a horse-box; and in the lofts and wooden barracks the men had even less room. With men's nerves in the condition in which they were, it can be imagined how trying it was to be in such close quarters and never to have the chance of being alone for a moment. Some men felt this so much that they deliberately committed some offence against the German authorities in order to be put into the cells. There at least one could enjoy privacy.

During the first winter and spring, before the people at home realised how much we were in need of food and sent us parcels, our condition was really pitiful. The meagre ration dealt out to us by the authorities was not enough to keep body and soul together, at least for any long period. During those early days men collapsed from sheer hunger; and one never knew what it was not to feel hungry. When the parcels came regularly from home, we were never, or at least seldom, really hungry, for they were sufficient for us to live upon; but the monotony of always eating tinned food is very trying, and a very large number of men suffered terribly from stomach troubles.

No account of Ruhleben would be complete without

mentioning our system of self-government. At first there were soldiers in each barrack who had charge of all the prisoners in their barrack. Their only method of dealing with us was to shout and try to bully us. Unfortunately for them, you can never do anything with an Englishman by shouting at him. Instead of making him do what is required of him, it only makes him stand still and grin. This system was soon found not to work; and so, acting on the suggestion of our own barrack captains, the authorities withdrew the soldiers from the barracks and gave us 'Home Rule.' Bit by bit we managed to work everything into our own hands, until at last the only function of the military authorities was guarding the Camp and occasionally pouncing down on us for trivial offences, and taking us to the cells or the 'bird-cage,' which was a small room where men were confined for anything from five to forty days at a time. The authorities depended on us for the proper administration of the Camp to such an extent that, when they issued a more than usually disagreeable order, all the civil Camp officials threatened to resign unless the order were countermanded, and we never failed to gain our point. There is something amusing about prisoners making reprisals on their captors; but the Germans apparently did not appreciate the humorous side of the situation and were quite ready to give way at the sign of a threatened strike.

In the foregoing part of this article I have endeavoured to give an account, necessarily short and incomplete, of our general way of life at Ruhleben. I have preferred to dwell upon the brighter, and to me the far more interesting, side of our life. Had I wished, I could have given an equally long account of the sufferings and brutalities that occurred in the Camp, but I think no useful purpose would be served by this. The mere narration of acts of cruelty can be of no real service, unless one is able to draw some useful lesson from them. In what follows I shall endeavour to point out some of the more permanent things learnt in captivity.

In Ruhleben, I, at least, learned for the first time to understand my own race properly. The five thousand

prisoners in the Camp were of every type and class, the only thing common to them all being that they were British. My imprisonment gave me the opportunity of studying, at close quarters, the characteristics of the average Englishman, and it has made me very proud to belong to such a race. There was no opportunity in Ruhleben for the display of that marvellous courage that our men have shown at the front, but there were unique opportunities for the display of that dogged perseverance which has characterised our race throughout the world. One saw men there going on, day after day and year after year, patiently making the best of things, and never losing their spirit. The way in which the various classes co-operated in making life endurable is a remarkable testimony to the truly democratic spirit of our race. The less educated classes—represented mostly by sailors and fishermen—were naturally in a numerical superiority, and could, had they wished, have made life very trying for the rest of the community. What actually took place was just the opposite. They appreciated all the efforts that the leaders in the Camp were making on behalf of the general good, and co-operated with them in every way. These men showed remarkable willingness to perform tasks of an unpleasant nature which had to be done, thus helping those who in ordinary life were not used to manual labour.

As one was enabled by this experience to appreciate one's own race, so one learnt to understand more fully the dominant characteristics of the German. These are the sort of lessons that internment teaches; and they are the really valuable things that are worth remembering and recording. First of all, with regard to cruelty. When one says that the Germans are brutal by nature, one must make quite sure what is meant by the phrase. We are all brutal by nature, as we are all kind by nature, for it is as natural to be brutal to one's enemies as it is to be kind to one's friends. This original brutality, which is in all human nature, can only be eradicated by ideal or spiritual aims taking the place of the natural ones. The German is not just a primitive savage, he is something far more dangerous; he is a savage who has learnt to cover up his savagery under the cloak of *Kultur*, but who has never conquered it.

German *Kultur* is a veneer superimposed upon a nature that is by instinct brutal. The grosser forms of brutality which Germans have manifested throughout this war are due to this external veneer of *Kultur* falling away in times of excitement. It was never part of their nature, and, like a man's hat, which may fall off when he is excited and can be replaced when he has cooled down again. The more refined acts of cruelty are due not to excitement but to a lack of spiritual development. German *Kultur* is a thing purely of the mind; and, with the aid of their scientific training, the Germans are able to invent extremely clever forms of cruelty. It is of course possible for other races to do the same, but they are saved by the spiritual side of their natures, which prevents them from putting into practice the most effective forms of cruelty, by reminding them of moral values, of justice and of humanity. It was this inequality between the German and the English mind that made British prisoners so averse to reprisals being taken. However much our own Government had attempted to improve our conditions by taking reprisals on German prisoners, we knew that the Germans would always 'go one better.' They were not hampered in the game, as the British were, by humane considerations, and therefore could always play the winning card.

When I was first arrested, the policeman who was taking me to gaol kicked me as I was walking along one of the main streets of Hamburg. His ostensible reason for doing so was to hurry me up, but I felt at the time—and I feel still—that his real reason was to get the admiration of the crowd, which he certainly succeeded in doing. I recall another instance that occurred while I was in Ruhleben. A cart drawn by a most miserable specimen of a horse came into the Camp; and the soldier whose duty it was to accompany the cart and see that nothing entered or left the Camp by it without military sanction, amused himself, while the cart was unloading, by hitting the horse on the mouth and nostrils with a heavy bunch of keys he was carrying. There was no excuse for his action; it was just a way of passing the time agreeably. I could give many other examples that would illustrate what I mean, but I think these two are sufficient, of what one might call the

coarser and more childish form of brutality. There was no external check to prevent the policeman kicking an Englishman, nor any one to rebuke the soldier for striking the horse, so the external veneer fell away, and both soldier and policeman indulged their natural instincts.

There is another type of German brutality which might be called the intellectual type. It consists in applying a well-trained intellect to special forms of punishment. One of the best examples of this that occurred at Ruhleben was the putting up of extra barbed-wire fences across the middle of the Camp. This took place after we had been interned for about three and a half years, when we were suffering acutely from what is called barbed-wire disease. These fences were put across the only open space we had in the Camp, and the gates were only opened every quarter of an hour. As the gates divided the main part of the Camp from the part containing the kitchens and recreation ground, it can easily be imagined what annoyance this new form of reprisal caused us. It was a highly ingenious scheme to try our already over-strained nerves. There are many such instances of refined cruelty which will occur to all who have had any close dealing with the Germans. The staff-officer who invented this form of cruelty had a better intellect than the policeman or the soldier I have mentioned, and was therefore able to be cruel in a more subtle and effective way. Such cruelty is the result of a brutal nature *plus* intellect. It springs not so much from a want of culture as from a one-sided type of culture, from a mind that is all intellect and no feeling. The Germans have cultivated their minds, and have killed their souls in the process.

While I was still in Hamburg, before my arrest, I met an extremely cultivated old lady who regretted she was an invalid and therefore unable to go to Belgium and scratch out the eyes of the Belgian women who had ventured to prevent the German soldiery from demolishing their homes. When I asked her if she too would not act as the Belgians had if the French attempted to treat the people of Hamburg as the Germans were treating the Belgians, she answered that she would certainly do what the Belgians had done and even far more, but

that would be excusable, because it would be defending Germany against an oppressor. No amount of argument on my part could convince her that the Belgians looked upon the matter from the same point of view. To her, Germany in itself was something sacred in a way that no other country could be. She had not sufficient imagination to put herself in the position of the Belgians and think how they regarded the matter.

The cruelty, too, which the Germans practised at the front and also at home in the early days of the war had its real origin in an over-excited mind. An over-excited mind is always a terrible thing; but, when the mind that is under the influence of a strong excitement is a brutal one, the natural result is gross forms of cruelty. Just as an animal, which in the ordinary way is docile enough, will when excited perform acts of the most appalling cruelty, so the German, under similar circumstances, surrenders himself to his lower passions; and his lower passions are very low.

On one occasion, in the early days of the Camp, there was a slight disturbance, known in Ruhleben history as the 'Skilly' riots. We had had some skilly dealt out to us, in which there was a plentiful supply of maggots. We were all terribly hungry at the time, but, in spite of that, the inhabitants of one or two barracks determined to throw away their skilly. The authorities got excited and turned out the guard, who drove us all back to barracks with fixed bayonets. Count Schwerin, who was then head of the Camp, seeing a small ship's boy throw away his skilly, ordered a German soldier to bring the boy to him and, while the soldier held him, shouted at and cursed him in German, not a word of which the boy understood, and finally hit him several times in the face and then sent him to the cells. On another occasion, when four soldiers were frog-marching a man to the cells, Baron von Taube, who was second in command, relieved his excited feelings by giving the poor fellow several powerful upper-cuts in the face. This kind of brutality, in which even German officers of good family indulge, can only be explained on the assumption that there is something fundamentally lacking in the German mind. A more developed race would understand that such conduct was not such as became a man into whose hands

was entrusted authority and leadership, but the Germans glory in such behaviour.

The many protests that have been made by educated Germans during the war against the imputation of cruelty on their race are easy to understand, if one accepts the point of view I have suggested. These protests point to the obvious kind-heartedness of the German race as a whole, and argue from that that it is impossible for them to be cruel. But this line of reasoning misses out the fact that, however kind-hearted a person may be, he will still be liable to perform acts of cruelty if his character is fundamentally gross. The Germans are always gross, whatever they do; they are readily excitable and lacking in self-control; and it is for this reason that a normally kind-hearted people gave themselves up to so much cruelty. Passion over-mastered them; and there was no refining element to hold them in check. They have intellect and brute force, but no imagination, no soul.

Just as this lack of refinement in the German character seems to account for the acts of cruelty committed by the Germans in all their dealings with their enemies, so I believe it accounts for their lack of humour. Any one who is at all familiar with modern German drama knows how gross are their so-called jokes. They appreciate nothing unless it is dealt out to them, like a German *Mittagsessen*, in bulk. The British race is not witty like the French, but it has a wonderful way of seeing humour in all things, especially those in which nobody else sees anything to laugh at. Now the German sees nothing to laugh at in himself; the Englishman, on the contrary, sees nothing in him except an object of ridicule and amusement. Our German captors were a perpetual source of amusement to us. One of the Camp customs was to cheer loudly any announcement made by the authorities. It made no difference what it was. As soon as we were lined up and a German came round to announce some reprisal, or to give out an innocent notice, he was cheered by all present. Sometimes they were so annoyed by this that they doubled the punishment first announced, but this only led to fresh and redoubled cheering. We treated their notices of spurious victories in exactly the same way. This was a great

weapon of defence for us, for the German is no more impervious to ridicule than other people; and it was quite pitiful at times to see a German soldier trying to carry out an order without being laughed at. His usual method was to explain the order to one of the prisoners and get him to announce it in his own words; this, in fact, was practically the only way to get things done. It was this lack of humour, I believe, that caused the wonderful 'Hymn of Hate' to be sung so much. The German is quite incapable of taking things lightly or naturally. During the first two years of war, the National Anthem was sung continuously from all the troop-trains that passed the Camp; and they despised us because we were able to content ourselves with such an obviously foolish song as 'Tipperary.'

From the summer of 1916 till the end, a sort of heavy depression seemed to settle down on the Germans. They looked at the map of Europe and saw their armies everywhere victorious; and yet the war showed no signs of ending. Our spirits, on the other hand, were as buoyant as ever, and we were quite confident of a complete and final victory. It was a problem too great for the German mind, and one felt almost sorry for them. They had been schooled in a certain groove of thought that taught them that military victories meant the triumph of Germany; they had the victories, but, instead of triumph, there loomed before them only famine and despair. It was at this time that the general opinion turned from the idea of peace with annexations and indemnities to peace by compromise. When they talked to us of such a peace they naturally found no sympathy. This, too, seemed to puzzle them, because it could only mean that we seriously believed in the total defeat of Germany—a thing impossible and incredible.

This state of depression, deepening into despondency, and relieved only by the ever fainter hope of a 'Verständigungsfrieden,' continued till the outbreak of the Revolution. During the March offensive there seemed to be a faint flicker of hope that perhaps even now Germany might be victorious, but, when that failed, they realised that all was up with them. When the Revolution broke out, they turned with amazing ease from their rôle of bully to the most abject form of cringing. The servility

which they displayed after the signing of the Armistice was even more despicable than their bullying during the four years of our imprisonment. The Commandant of Berlin came into the Camp and, after making a speech apologising for all the brutalities of the past four years, tried to raise a cheer for the German people; but on this occasion—and it was almost the only one—the German addressing us was not cheered. The prisoners simply grinned and held their peace. Each of us was sent home armed with a pamphlet from the Ruhleben Soldiers' Council, beseeching us to tell the people of England what really splendid people the Germans were, asking us to see that food was sent to them, and speaking of us in a most laudatory way. The thing that tickled us most was that they praised us because our spirits had never been broken; and yet the members of the Ruhleben Soldiers' Council were the very men who had done their worst to break them. That pamphlet was the crowning humour of our internment.

ERIC FARMER.

Art. 9.—THE PLAYS OF THE BROTHERS ÁLVAREZ
QUINTERO.

1. *Comedias Escogidas de Serafín y Joaquín Álvarez Quintero*. Five vols. Madrid: Biblioteca Renacimiento, 1910 and 1911.
2. *El Último Capítulo, Paso de Comedia*. Madrid: Sociedad de Autores Españoles, 1910.
3. *Herida de Muerte, Paso de Comedia; Puebla de las Mujeres, Comedia en Dos Actos; El Hombre que hace reír, Monologo*. Madrid: Velasco, 1910-12.
4. *Mundo, Mundillo . . . Comedia en Tres Actos; Malvaloca, Drama en Tres Actos; Sin Palabras, Comedia en Un Acto*. Biblioteca Renacimiento, 1912-13.

And other Works by the same Authors.

'OUR country is just now in the midst of a Renaissance, which is most strikingly manifested in the department of the Arts.' Thus spoke the well-known Spanish authoress, Doña Blanca de los Rios, in a speech delivered at the inauguration of a statue of Menéndez y Pelayo at the National Library at Madrid in the summer of 1917; and I scarcely think that any one who has followed recent developments in Spain will be inclined to dispute her statement. And, if this be so, what more natural than that this renewal of youth and vigour in the arts should display itself conspicuously in drama—in the field, that is, in which the Spanish genius has of old time found its favourite and most complete expression? It is true that the Spanish theatre was never at any time quite so slavishly under French influence as was our own during some of the later decades of last century; and that for at least a hundred years back it has never lacked, not merely able playwrights, but characteristically Spanish dramatists who were men of genius. It were perhaps as profitable to demand popularity in this country for a painting of Murillo's *vaporoso* period as for a tragedy of Zorrilla's. But that is not Zorrilla's affair. He knew his own countrymen and could captivate them—at times with claptrap, and at times with inspired verse and lofty re-incarnation of their country's golden past. Were there no moments, I might ask, when our own so much greater dramaturge was equally indulgent? With more

of culture and less violent inequality than 'Tenorio,' Echegaray has not fared much better among ourselves; for the audience which could claim to enjoy the radically un-English 'Dame aux Camélias' has not clamoured for more repetitions of 'El Gran Galeoto.' Was it that star names were wanting from the Echegaray playbill, or that our great and just respect for French art is an exclusive sentiment? It may be that the day of the lately-deceased dramatic poet upon the English boards is yet to come. Meantime, what of his successors?

To pass from the storm and passion of 'Galeoto' to the serene domesticity of the Álvarez Quintero theatre is like passing from tempestuous seas into a land-locked bay, where winds and waves may ruffle a dead surface, or excite to an exhilarating opposition, but possess no power to ravage or to wreck. Indeed, in the latest catalogue of the authors' works, a list of over seventy pieces contains but two 'dramas,' 'La Pena' and 'Malvaloca,' and not a single tragedy, the remainder being made up of comedies, *zarzuelas*, *sainetes*, and so forth. It is with 'El Genio Alegre,' then, that we shall have to do throughout these pages—a spirit of liveliness and contentment, which passes at times into pensiveness and pathos, and at times into a subdued passion, as in 'La Zagala' ('The Country Girl'), 'El Amor que pasa,' 'Nena Teruel,' but scarcely beyond these points; and a spirit of temperate liveliness, too, which, if it now and then enters the region of broad farce, as in 'El Ojito Derecho,' never for a moment loses sight of its true object of painting manners and illustrating character. And this last-named characteristic it is which gives, as I believe, to all that the Quintero brothers have written its sterling value as art. They are never anxious, as so many playwrights are, to raise a laugh for the laugh's sake; never visibly solicitous, as Hugo and Sardou used to be, to thrill, enthral, electrify, their audience. On the contrary, their one preoccupation is to get their characters exhibited and let them work out their destinies for themselves.

In this connexion, let us begin with a word or two as to the *form* of the Quintero drama, and its relation to the dramatic movement in other European countries. It will be remembered, then, that, following upon the school of Augier, Sardou, Dumas *fils*, there arose in

France a school of dramatists—of which Henri Lavedan may be chosen as representative—who aimed at discarding, or as far as possible eliminating from their plays, what was obviously artificial or belonging to theatrical convention or device. Scenic exaggeration, præternaturally witty dialogue/ the *coup de théâtre*, and the like—it was felt that to such things as these too much had been sacrificed, and that they were fast losing their hold upon that very public which, as was supposed, could not do without them. There had been a movement against these things as long ago as when 'L'Ami Fritz' of MM. Ereckmann-Chatrian was performed at the Comédie Française, with Coquelin in the name-part. But it was not the main movement of the day, and it did not suffice to 'kill'—which, after all, means little more than to put out of fashion—the things which it discountenanced. Perhaps it was Hugo, that great master of *cliché*, who, just as by his romantic excesses he had paved the way for Zola, struck a harder blow at stage conventionality than any other writer. For it is the men who do a doubtful thing conspicuously well that, in the long run, reveal its weakness.

Some quarter of a century ago, then, the sails of the dramatic ship (if I may use the figure) were hanging flaccid and unfilled, and the seamen were whistling for a wind, when a light air coming from the north set their craft in motion once more. That light air blew from Bergen, and in less time almost than it takes to write of it, had developed into a stiff breeze, nay, half a gale. I say half a gale advisedly; for, if Ibsen failed to make his view of life acceptable, he at least did much to modify, and, I believe, improve the technique of the theatre. So that, whilst rejecting his morbid psychology, his *dramatis persone* of neurotics and degenerates, and his preferential treatment of the problems of bankrupt human relationships, it is from him that later dramatists have learnt much of their less complicated methods of procedure, their more fearless devotion to truth, their less dependence upon stage convention and greater reliance upon fact. Among these later dramatists, I include Shaw and Galsworthy and Houghton, no less than Brioux and Donnay, and—though on the face of it nothing could well be less like Ibsen than their comedies

* Persons
Fool!

—the brothers Álvarez Quintero, whose earliest technique is already an advance upon that of Pérez Galdós in, for example, such a well-made and successful comedy as 'La de San Quintín,' produced in 1894.

Among the Quintero plays now before me, the earliest is 'El Ojito Derecho,' produced at the Teatro de la Zarzuela in 1897. It consists of a single scene, in which three characters—the Seller, the Buyer, and the Agent of the latter—haggle over a wretched donkey, which, by the owner's account, is his *ojito derecho*, the apple of his eye. After prolonged bargaining, the beast, for which fifty dollars had been asked, is sold for five dollars and five reals; and, the purchaser having ridden off upon him, Agent and Seller reveal their true relationship by falling into each other's arms, with mutual congratulation, and going off to drink together. For, small as is the price realised by the donkey, it is much more than he is worth! This trifle is in the picaresque tradition; and all who know Spanish street-life must do justice to its inimitable truth to character. It has a full share of the Quintero quality of lending itself to clever acting. With it may be classed the *sainete*, or one-act picture of local manners, 'El Patinillo' ('The Farmyard'), produced at the Teatro de Apolo twelve years later. This richly-coloured painting of southern life sets before us the conversation and the interests, no longer of rascals, but of rustics, bronzed and beaming with good-nature, such as gather round the 'Bacchus' of Velasquez, and includes the highly characteristic scene of distributing alms to the beggars. Such modicum of plot as is required to hold these things together is supplied by the story of the tyrant farmer's pretty daughter, and her love for a *beau sabreur* who is quartered in the neighbourhood.

As a play purely of peasant life, 'El Patinillo' is perhaps exceptional, but there are comparatively few of the Quintero comedies into which peasant characters are not introduced. And though, in conformity with the limitations of their art, the brothers deal only with the sunnier side of rustic life, they have painted the countryman of southern Spain with a positive certainty of touch which recalls that of Maupassant in his portraiture of Norman peasantry. Here is an example from

the comedy of 'Las Flores.' The scene is a market-garden in the neighbourhood of Seville, of which Consuelo is in charge; and to her enter Román and Romancillo, father and son, flower-hawkers by trade.

'They are poorly clad, and wear broad-brimmed hats much the worse for wear. The boy carries two big pots of latanias, one resting on his left shoulder and the other held under his right arm. The father carries a basket filled with pot-plants. Both speak with an indolence that is positively irritating, and is the outward sign of ingrained slackness. Scarcely have they entered, before each of them sets down his load and drops into a chair.'

ROMÁN. Good-morning to you, ma'am.*

ROMANCILLO. Good-morning.

CONSUELO. Oh, it's you, is it? Good-morning! What have you brought?

ROMÁN. Nothing at all—we were passing this way, that's all. . . .

ROMANCILLO. Have you such a thing as a drink o' water, m'm?

CONSUELO. Why, of course! Don't you trouble to get up. *(Goes into house.)*

ROMANCILLO. These what-d'ye-call-'ems are no light weight, I'm telling you.

ROMÁN. Neither are these! My right arm's all but out of joint.

(A pause till CONSUELO returns bearing a jar.)

CONSUELO. Who said water?

ROMANCILLO. I did—bring it along.

ROMÁN. Now don't you go for to drink the lot of it.

CONSUELO. But I'll fetch more if it's wanted.

ROMANCILLO. 'Tain't worth while—here you are, father.

CONSUELO. Refreshing?

ROMANCILLO. 'Tis indeed!

ROMÁN. I should rather say it was! I thank your ladyship.

CONSUELO. Oh, that's all right. *(Exit to leave the jar.)* . . .

CONSUELO *(returning)*. Why, you seem quite done up!

ROMÁN. This lazy fellow . . . *(indolently shaking him)* I say, wake up, Romancillo!

* In the original all three characters speak the Andalusian dialect, turning 'buenos' into 'güenos,' 'sino' into 'zino,' 'poquilla' into 'poquiya' and so on.

ROMANCILLO. I ain't asleep . . .

CONSUELO. The lad must have been up early?

ROMANCILLO. On my feet since four this morning! Had to go all the way to the river to cut some reeds.

(The father seizes this opportunity to take a nap.)

ROMANCILLO. See the old chap? *(Rousing him.)* Say, dad, wake up! We must be travelling.

ROMÁN. Who's asleep? *(Rising with difficulty.)* Fact is, m'm, there ain't nobody but me and him to do everything.

CONSUELO. But I understood you had ten of a family?

ROMÁN. Ten or a dozen; but not one of 'em ever puts his hand to a thing. The young chap here is the only one as have got any go in him. . . . And he's not just what you might call an electric tram. . . . Bless'd if he han't dropped off again! *(Shakes the boy once more.)* Romanciyo!

ROMANCILLO. What's wrong with *you*, father?

ROMÁN. Here, just slip over yonder and gather a handful or two of maidenhair.

ROMANCILLO *(rising)*. Of maidenhair? What's the good of that?

ROMÁN. What's the good of that? Would you make nose-gays without maidenhair, blockhead?

ROMANCILLO. But han't we got maidenhair of our own?

ROMÁN. I should like you to tell me whéré it is?

ROMANCILLO. All I know is, mother told me so.

ROMÁN. Look out that it bain't one of your mother's fairy-tales—the woman's fool enough for anything. . . . No, I don't believe as there is maidenhair . . .

ROMANCILLO. Well, *I* say there is, so come along. *(Resuming his burden of flower-pots.)* Drat the things! they're as heavy as lead.

ROMÁN *(after lifting his basket and taking leave of CONSUELO)*. Now are you as sure as sure that we have maidenhair at home?

ROMANCILLO. At it again, dad! Will you bet on it?

CONSUELO. What's to prevent Romancillo running over here for maidenhair if you find you're out of it?

ROMÁN. I should like to see *him* run anywhere! Don't you twig that this is one of his dodges? I only trust there may be maidenhair . . .

ROMANCILLO. I tell you, father, there is!

ROMÁN. And I say there ain't!

ROMANCILLO. What's the good of telling me? *(The last words are spoken 'off', and it is to be assumed that father and son pursue the same subject in the same spirit till they reach home.)*

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Of this scene, at the time of its first representation, a distinguished critic, Federico Balart, observed, 'These Quinteros write, as Velasquez painted, with a broad touch. Those two fellows who have maidenhair at their elbow, yet, to save the trouble of gathering it, will run the risk of having to come back for it, are a whole race in themselves. That is Andalusia in little.' Without going so far as that, we submit that the scene is no caricature of the leisurely side of southern Spanish peasant-life. That that life has another and finer side is, however, amply recognised by the authors themselves, when they set before us such types (out of many) as the manly and self-respecting Daniel of 'Mundo, Mundillo . . .', the shrewd and racy Ventura of 'La Zagala,' or, in a slightly higher position, the Antoñón of the following dialogue from 'El Centenario.' The scene shows the reception by the centenarian Don Juan del Monte of his so-called poor relation, the market-gardener, who appears dressed in his best to do honour to the visit.

ANTOÑÓN. The peace of God be with you, sir!

PAPÁ JUAN. Come along, come along, my dear fellow! How's yourself?

ANTOÑÓN. Quite well, thank you; and you, Don Juan?

PAPÁ JUAN. Judge for yourself. . . . Be seated Antoñón.

ANTOÑÓN. With your leave.

PAPÁ JUAN. And put your hat down.

ANTOÑÓN. It isn't in my way.

PAPÁ JUAN. Give it here.

ANTOÑÓN (*after scrutinising his host*). Now is it really true, Don Juan del Monte, that you're as old as you say you are? Or are you making fools of us all in Arenales?

PAPÁ JUAN. Ask the priest who baptised me.

ANTOÑÓN. He might be difficult to find at this time of day.

PAPÁ JUAN. Well, wherever he may be, may he have long to wait for me! The good gentleman treated me kindly, and that's the truth. His name was Manuel Martínez y Argote—a connexion, by his own account, of the poet Góngora y Argote. But here they gave him the nickname of Father Ratcatcher, from his having invented an infernal machine for use against the cheese-biters?

ANTOÑÓN. Your memory doesn't seem to have failed you much!

PAPÁ JUAN. Not much—ha, ha! And so your family keep well?

ANTOÑÓN. They've no time to do anything else.

PAPÁ JUAN. It was a treat to see them t'other day! And your garden's a perfect dream. I can tell you I envy you—mine's not like that.

ANTOÑÓN. Yet the same sun warms both. Only you cultivate yours for show, while I look to mine to feed the lot of us.

PAPÁ JUAN. That's about it. . . . Well, it's been a fairish season for both of us.

ANTOÑÓN. Yes, because, thank God! we've had rain. We all know that, if May brings its drop, you may count on your crop.

PAPÁ JUAN. Just so. And that wet May makes a foul field and fair garden. . . . What next? Oh, by the way, did Mary tell you what it was that took me to your place the other day? I hope you are all of you coming to dine here on the 25th, so that we may celebrate my hundredth birthday all together? (ANTOÑÓN makes no reply.) Why don't you speak, man? What's up now?

ANTOÑÓN. Señor Don Juan del Monte! You know as well as I do that there have always been rich folks and poor folks in the world. Well, to know how to conduct yourself isn't exactly easy even if you're rich, but it's ever so much harder if you're poor. Now, I happen to be poor, and what's more I've no wish to be otherwise. Mayhap I've as good an income as plenty who call 'emselves rich, but I'm content to pass as a poor man. And keeping off the question of money, what does the rhyme say?

'When a poor man takes a drop too much

They cry, What a sot is he!

But let your gentleman do such,

A right jolly chap he must be!'

My neighbour Alonzo, who married Carmen Campos, will have it the day's coming when all poor folk will be rich. (You know he has ideas of that sort, which I think mere tomfoolery.) Well! all I can say is, if that day comes in my lifetime, I shall choose to be poor, not rich. For why? Because it's a good sight better business to be well off and let folk take you for a poor man, than to be poor and pass as rich! See my meaning?

PAPÁ JUAN. Well, I do, more or less.

ANTOÑÓN. It's only more or less that I've explained it.

PAPÁ JUAN. Then I see all you've explained.

ANTOÑÓN. Don't it strike you, Señor Don Juan der Monte, that homespun flounces are out of place on a silk dress? Can't you see that, at your table—the table of a wealthy

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man who has always known how to conduct himself as such—my wife and children and I will be like chickens in the wrong hen-coop?

PAPÁ JUAN. Why should that be?

ANTOÑÓN. Why, because, as I often tell that neighbour of mine, if the world chooses to go round from left to right, it's not likely to go the other way just to suit your convenience or mine!

PAPÁ JUAN. Now, my dear Antoñón, with your good leave and your neighbour's, upon my hundredth birthday the world is going to go round according to my taste and fancy! On that day you are coming here, and your wife and family are coming here. And you are coming simply and solely to do honour to my table with your homespun clothes and your horny hands!

ANTOÑÓN. Zeñor Don Juan der Monte . . .

PAPÁ JUAN. Señor Don Antoñón de la Huerta, what on earth's the matter?

ANTOÑÓN. I want you to reflect that Jesus Christ himself came into the world to settle that business . . .

PAPÁ JUAN. Now, I simply decline to hear another word of your philosophy, Antoñón! Neither are you the only poor relation who is to sit beside me, *he and his*, upon the great occasion. . . . All will be there.

ANTOÑÓN. Yes, but none of 'em live in Arenales. In a little town like this, Zeñor Don Juan, we all know each other's business, and there's a lot of—what shall I call it? Criticism. And great and small believe that the world will come to an end because, forsooth! for once in a way a poor man has sat down at a rich man's table.

PAPÁ JUAN. Let them think what they will, it won't come to an end! And, supposing it did? Why, let it, say I! It isn't worth preserving. We'll build a better on the ruins of it, where rich and poor may dine at the same table without the fear of—criticism!

ANTOÑÓN. Those are just my neighbour's views.

PAPÁ JUAN. Maybe! But your neighbour states them when he's mad with drink, and I when I'm cool and clear-headed. And your neighbour wants to gain his end by killing people, and I by taking them to my heart. You see the difference? Well, give me your hand and promise not to fail me on my birthday.

ANTOÑÓN. How good you are, Don Juan! Just as if you were a poor man like myself!

PAPÁ JUAN. Doesn't the same sun that shines on both our gardens shine also upon you and me?

It is only right to mention that the remarkable evenness of execution in these plays makes the selection of passages for quotation rather difficult. Perhaps the foregoing scene may serve as well as another to illustrate the leisurely, conversational method of the authors. The large-hearted patriarchal country-gentleman and the sturdily independent and self-respecting market-gardener are both of them sympathetic types, drawn without apparent effort—moulds into which skilled actors would, I conceive, find little difficulty in infusing the warmth, geniality, and emotion of life. One criticism, however, cannot be withheld, and it is that, for a centenarian, Papá Juan is almost miraculously free from traces of senility.

Neither Madrid nor the life of the Spanish aristocracy has, so far, figured very largely in the writings of the Señores Quintero, for, when they introduce a Madrileño, it is oftener than not (as in 'Mundo, Mundillo . . .') as a foil to provincial surroundings. It may be that they have regarded these things as belonging by prescriptive right to their more pungent and more cosmopolitan senior, Jacinto Benavente. Upon the life of the middle-classes, however, as upon that of their own native Seville ('El Patio,' 1900), and of the numerous provincial towns of their own invention—such as Guadalema, Arenales del Río, Puebla de las Mujeres—they have brought their fine observation to bear with masterly effect. And though the life of the smaller Spanish town is admitted to have its full share of the proverbial characteristics of 'Little Pedlington,' its treatment by the Quinteros is ever so much more genial than, say, that meted out by Galdós to the formidable cathedral city to which he introduced us in 'Doña Perfecta.' The Quinteros temper satire with sympathy and playfulness until its gall disappears. Yet they are far from blinking the dulness of the typical Spanish town, or the fact that this bears hardly on the women. Don Julian, the good parish-priest of Puebla de las Mujeres, says: 'Aquí, en movimiento constante, no hay más que las campanas de las dos iglesias, y las lenguas de las mujeres.' . . . * And hear how Currita,

* 'Here the only things in constant motion are the bells of the two churches and the women's tongues.'

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the independent girl-secretary of our friend Papá Juan, bears the priest out. She is explaining to her kinsman, the bohemian Trino, that, far from thinking ill of him because he had attempted his own life when crossed in love, she thinks all the better of him for it:

'I tell you that I like what you did—Yes, like it immensely! It's an act that speaks to me of so many things that are outside our humdrum daily life! Ah, Trino! you can have no idea what it is to be of my age and have my illusions, and live in a town such as this! A town where the greatest of expectations when the church clock strikes three consists in waiting till it strikes four, and again when it strikes four in waiting till it strikes five! Ours is a lucky church-bell—it never by any chance rings for a fire. And I am for ever sighing for something out of the common. . . . There you have the reason why what you did and are now ashamed of inspires sympathy in me! Apart from that, of course, nobody rejoices more than I do that the bullet missed its mark.'

Perhaps it is in the two-act comedy of 'El Amor que Pasa' ('The Love that passes by'), produced at Buenos Aires in 1904, that this characteristic aspect of the older Spanish life is most sympathetically shown. The play introduces us to Arenales, a little town where men are scarce and disinclined to wed. In fact, for womenkind, to be condemned to live in Arenales is about the same thing as enforced celibacy. And of course there is great plenty of really charming girls. In the first act we find Mamá Dolores, the neglected wife of a bibulous husband, who has lost her own daughters, entertaining a large party of female friends, and endeavouring to satisfy her baulked affections by acting as a sort of general mother to the girls. But in such a place as Arenales, how can she hope to provide them with husbands? The dearth of menkind is exemplified by the fact that the only male creature present is a half-witted fellow frankly spoken of as El Tonto, who, whatever his deficiencies, has at least a keen appreciation of feminine society, and whose remarks relating thereto are apt to be embarrassing. Into the midst of this insipid *tertulia*, enters the handsome and dashing Alvaro, come to visit his dead mother's friend, the hostess, who, after making him fondly

welcome, lays plans for his entertainment. Alvaro makes himself extremely agreeable, and impresses every one favourably. But, though he talks in a pleasantly sentimental vein to the girls Socorruto and Clotilde, he has no 'intentions' whatever, and is far too good a fellow to lead them to believe that he has. The fact is that Alvaro was born at sea and has roving in his blood. To him the stay at Arenales is a jolly interlude between journeys, and he rides away, as he had come, unwitting of the vacuum he leaves, with none but El Tonto to fill it. 'Esperar, esperar . . . tener el alma llena de amor, y pasar sin amor la vida . . .'* That is the prospect left to Socorruto and Clotilde, who go back to fill their lives, as best they may, with childish sports and girlish chatter, until these things shall have become too patent an anachronism.

There are writers who would have treated this theme in such a manner as to leave behind an impression of cruel irony. The Quinteros have preferred to expose its pathos with a delicate and sympathetic hand. But, indeed, I question if, in their entire theatre, there is a single passage that could be called harsh. They are optimists, sunny and whole-hearted, and might be trusted, I verily believe, to find a solvent, or at least provide relief, for the cruellest dramatic situation ever concocted by an Ibsen or a Südermann.

The pathos of 'El Amor que pasa' is, however, exceptional in the Quinteros' plays, and hence a more entirely characteristic example of their art may be found in the two-act comedy of 'Puebla de las Mujeres,' produced at the Teatro Lara, in January 1912. Here all is fine observation, relieved only by the necessary modicum of sentiment, and free from the suspicion of a sigh. Puebla de las Mujeres may be described as the Spanish Cranford—the small self-centred town, of minute interests and of female domination; but here the tongue of local tattle wags more swiftly, while absorption in the affairs of other people is more exclusive and entire than with ourselves. The whole action of the play takes place in the Parish Priest's parlour, and it is almost needless to

* 'To hope and hope again . . . to have the soul brimful of love, and pass loveless through life.'

insist that its whole merit consists in accurate realisation of *milieu* and of local types—for example, Doña Concha, the busybody, or Doña Belén, the oracle of propriety. Those who know the life of southern Spain will recognise their absolute fidelity, while the apparent effortlessness of the performance contrasts finely with the endeavours of certain recent writers to make capital out of the humour and pathos of Scottish life.

To the peculiar genius of the Quinteros, the exceptionally prominent place filled by family-life in Spain offers an attractive opportunity. To say that family affection is stronger in the south than among ourselves might appear invidious and be difficult of proof. Let us say, then, that the 'hiving off' instinct is weaker there than with us, and that to find whole families—nay, whole colonies of relations—spending the best part of their lives under one roof is not very unusual. One of the plays in which the Señores Quintero have exploited family-life is 'Las de Caín' ('The Caín Girls'), produced simultaneously at Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, and Vigo, in October 1908—the title, like 'Los Galeotes' and 'Los Leales,' being probably a device to trick expectation. As this play turns on the marrying off of a large family of daughters, it can scarcely be regarded as an illustration of my point, but it certainly presents an attractive picture of the terms on which members of Spanish middle-class families live together.

Segismundo Caín, teacher of languages, is very much of a family man. He and his wife, Doña Elvira, both of whom are very well drawn, have been blessed, not indeed with riches, but with a family of eight daughters, of whom no less than five still remain to be married. Here is a task for Hercules! But with a little contrivance—the girls being willing and charming—it may be accomplished; and this is how it is done. Rosalía, the eldest unmarried daughter, is engaged to a stirring young doctor, Alfredo, who is much in love with her. Well, in collusion with her father, whose confidante she is, Rosalía informs her *fiancé* of the decision she has come to, not to be married until she has seen her younger sisters provided for. Alfredo is furious, all the more so from having that very day secured an appointment which enables him to marry forthwith. But Rosalía, a girl of

character, is not to be overruled. Then her lover, after the manner of men in love, bows to necessity, sees virtue in his sweetheart's inflexibility, and seeking the quickest way out of his difficulty, takes assiduously to introducing bachelor friends to his prospective sisters-in-law. I need hardly say that his ingenuity meets with its just reward.

A second play of family-life is 'Los Leales,' a three-act comedy, produced at the Teatro Español, in January 1914, and characterised by that greater elaboration and deeper moral significance which seem to mark the authors' development. It exhibits the fall from wealth to poverty of the large, united, genial family of a too confiding business-man, Don Adelardo Leal, and then goes on to show how this seeming misfortune is in reality a blessing in disguise, bringing with it the opportunity of unselfishness and the saving grace of work—the latter being a lesson less trite among Latins than among ourselves. Interwoven with the main theme is the love story of Cristina Leal, whom poverty rids of an unworthy *fiancé*, while the ingenuity and self-sacrifice of her younger sister, Lucita, provide her with a fitter mate. Among single scenes of the Quintero drama, there are few, if any, finer or more sympathetic than that in which the high-spirited Spanish girl pours scorn upon the faithless lover who has sought to return to her—a dialogue which ranks with the climax of 'Pepita Reyes,' and dwells in the memory as more entirely successful than the culminating dialogue of 'Malvaloca.' Among the lighter features of the play, the character of the old uncle, Doroteo, deserves mention; and it may be noted that, while the Quintero plays are singularly rich in portraits of finished fatuity, at least three of these are uncles, namely, Jeremías ('Los Galeotes'), Don Dionisio ('Mundo, Mundillo'), and, last but not least, Don Lolo ('Pepita Reyes').

The moral of 'Los Leales' is inculcated with characteristic Spanish suavity, and is throughout subordinated to the illustration of character. At first sight the plot may seem almost better suited to a novel than to a play; and, on glancing at the stout volume which contains it, one is inclined to fear that talk may overbear action. But this fear is solely due to long familiarity with the methods of the older school of playwrights. For the

Quinteros possess the secret of writing dialogue which has the true *acting* quality, and which, even when not materially advancing action, flows on brightly, smoothly and naturally, without *longueurs* as without forced brilliancy.

Among plays illustrating local manners, I may cite 'El Patio' (1900) and 'Las Flores' (1901). Of these, the former is evidently a favourite with the authors, who describe it as their first attempt to paint the manners of their native Seville and of the class whence they themselves originate, and go on to sing the praises of that peculiarly southern institution, the *patio*, or central courtyard, which serves at once as passage, meeting-place, hall and garden of a Spanish town-house. The advantages which it offers to a dramatist scarcely require to be pointed out. 'The Patio' has the exceptional distinction of having appended to it an Open Letter, signed 'El Diablo Cojuelo (The Lame Devil),' which, under guise of raillery, consists in reality of an answer to critics, or confession of artistic faith.

'The more natural the incidents of a comedy, the more will that comedy resemble life; and that is what the authors aim at. However simple may be the action, the interest may be trusted to look after itself, so long as there's any art in the writing. Or is it indeed to be believed that it's impossible to interest any one without surprises, clues, plots, letters forgotten in a muff, or telegrams gone astray in a jack-boot? If that is so, then we are simply not in it! Let any human action be imagined; describe a woman's love, a man's jealousy, the joys and sorrows of no matter whom—something, that is to say, that does occur in this world—and you will find no difficulty in interesting your public. Don't rely for this upon what is *going to happen*, but on what is *actually happening*. My friends' ideal would be that, while one of their plays is being performed, the public should forget that it is in a theatre.'

Here the Quinteros speak with no uncertain voice; so much so, indeed, that their warmest admirers may do well to reflect that, whatever its virtues, the naturalistic formula is not absolutely final, and must at its best leave great continents of the human soul unexplored.

One need go no further than to the London of 1917 to find evidence that a good play of theatrical life

has special chances of winning favour. In 'Pepita Reyes' and 'Nena Teruel,' the brother-dramatists have given us two examples of this class, both of them turning on the conflicting claims of theatrical and home life. In 'Pepita Reyes' art triumphs, while in 'Nena Teruel' a more womanly heroine sacrifices fame for the somewhat wooden husband whom she loves. And the sacrifice is the greater in that the fascination of the footlights is a thing that never dies. Based as they are upon national manners, the Quintero plays do not lend themselves very readily to adaptation. But the main features of stage-life being identical all the world over, it is probably one of these two plays that would have the best chance of succeeding in an English dress. Of the authors' almost innumerable dramatic trifles—*monologués, entre-meses, pasos de comedia*—there are many that would bear naturalisation. Among these may be specified 'Herida de Muerte,' in which the famous actress, Maria Guerrero, created the woman's part; 'El Último Capitulo,' 'Rosa y Rosita,' 'Palomilla,' and 'Sin Palabras.' In the last-named sketch, a girl who is by nature exceedingly talkative finds herself called upon to save a situation by enacting the part of one who is dumb, and does so with unlooked-for effect. In 'Mortally Wounded,' a beautiful *malade imaginaire*, calling to consult a fashionable doctor, is received without knowing it by the doctor's brother, who has already fallen in love with her from afar; and the consultation which follows promises the best results as regards both his suit and her cure. Trifles as these little pieces are, they are invariably touched with art and delicacy, and with the engaging optimism which distinguishes the authors' work.

'Doña Clarines' (1909) is more of a one-character play than most of the Quintero full-length pieces. The heroine is a notable house-wife, who, having long ago sustained a cruel deception, has developed her individuality to such a point that all Guadalema speaks of her as mad. In the opening scene, a worthless brother, who has dissipated his own estate and is now dependent on her bounty, has covertly introduced a mad-doctor into the house in the hope of getting her 'certified.' But, as the action proceeds, it becomes ever more apparent that, notwithstanding her peculiarities, Clarines is the sanest

person present. As the doctor puts it, 'The fact is that we all of us breathe an atmosphere of falsehood, and live entangled in a net of false appearances; and the result is that "truth at all seasons" begins at last to look to us like madness.' So the good lady emerges justified, her final act in repaying good for evil to the son of the man who has been false to her sufficing to reinstate her within the pale of sympathy.

A play of which the action can scarcely be conceived as taking place in this country is 'Mundo, Mundillo . . .' (1912), for it turns upon the threatened destruction of the earth by a comet, and the ways in which various characters prepare to face this appalling prospect. Excepting Abuela Nita (a most winning study of contented old age) and a certain emancipated lady who is living apart from her husband, there is not one who is unaffected by it; while the Madrileño, Don Dionisio, frightened out of his wits, the literary maid-servant, and the gamester, afford amusing studies of superstition as it works on different temperaments.

'La Dieha Ajena' ('Other Folks' Good Fortune'), produced at the Comedia in 1902, is exceptional among these plays in exhibiting, like 'Los Galeotes,' a specimen of the seamy side of life and in possessing a species of villain of its own. It poses the question how far the success of our friends is less than distasteful to ourselves, even when we are not exceptionally degenerate, and works out this theme through the successive relationships of the college friends Gonzalo and José. Though there is nothing unnatural in the plot, it follows theatrical convention more closely than that of any other of these plays, while a certain similarity between the situation of Gonzalo and that of Ibsen's Dr Stockmann tends further to reduce the impression of entire originality generally produced by a Quintero comedy.

Again, an exception to the rule that the Señores Quintero do not write 'problem plays' may be found in the much discussed drama of 'Malvaloca' (1912), which is also distinctly 'symbolistic.' The problem is that of the repentant Magdalen; is she to be permitted to find happiness in this world? The fable through which it is worked out is as follows. Cast adrift by his father's second marriage, Leonardo, a young Asturian, forms a

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friendship with Salvador, an Andalusian of his own age, who enters into partnership with him to restore prosperity to a derelict iron-foundry. Here Salvador meets with an accident, and, being carried to a neighbouring Sisterhood to be nursed, is there visited by his discarded mistress 'Malvaloca,' a girl of the people, who has never had a chance in life, for it is only after going astray that she has realised what virtue is. Leonardo meets the girl, falls in love with her, and by the light of his love comes to realise that she is not merely beautiful, but likewise essentially good. . . . 'What attracts and appeals to me in her more than any other thing is the native goodness of her heart; that unreasoning generosity, that deep sorrow over her incurable misfortune—a sorrow of which her tears tell me more than her words—unlooked-for tears that rise when she is happiest.' . . . But Leonardo, the northerner, is not facile and headlong in love as his southern friend has been. He has a young sister, too, to think of; and so the girl's past seems to come fatally between herself and happiness. It is here that symbolism is introduced. The Golondrina ('Swallow'), the matchless bell belonging to the Sisters who have nursed Salvador, is cracked, so that, from being the pride of the countryside, it is become a theme for scoffers. As a thank-offering for restored health, Salvador recasts the bell, making it as good as new. Oh, then, that Malvaloca might undergo a similar regeneration, live down her past, and emerge as a fitting wife for Leonardo and companion for his sister! *There* is the problem to be solved; and, with noble faith in humanity, the authors affirm that it is soluble. For, after much heart-burning and many tears, on the very day when the renovated bell is replaced in the church-tower with religious ceremonial, it is borne in on Leonardo that, just as the fractured metal has been made whole by fire, so the erring woman has been redeemed by suffering and love.

Having now glanced at a selection of these plays, it remains to take a general view of their qualities and limitations. Of the former, then, the most outstanding appear to me to be the admirable *Españolismo*, or national quality, which has endeared them to the hearts of Spaniards, a genial optimism, and an excellent

technique. As regards the first, the Quintero brothers have been fortunate in bringing their wares to market at the very moment when Spain was re-awakening to a consciousness of herself, and of her present as distinct from her past; those wares being understood to consist of an intimate knowledge of the life of the Spanish lower and middle classes, and a genius for presenting it. From a passage in the Open Letter from which I have already quoted, it would appear that the brothers have been twitted with a somewhat slavish dependence on their note-books. For, in taking leave of his readers, their facetious *alter ego* remarks :

'I am now off to assist the brothers in a task that will keep them busy indeed. They have just received seven large consignments of Andalucian quips and cranks, for use in the works on which they are now engaged, and they are examining these and classifying them alphabetically. . . . Their method is admirably adjusted. "First-scene jokes," "second-scene jokes," "curtain jokes," and so on. I tell you it's quite wonderful.'

Well, it may or may not be that the above burlesque contains a certain measure of truth. What if it does? So long as no trace of the preliminary labour appears in the finished product, *cela ne gête rien*. And unquestionably the most prominent characteristic of these works is their apparent ease. At the worst, the method satirised is but that of which we have all admired the results in the work of the late J. M. Synge. And here also it is results, not methods, which concern us. What has already roused the enthusiasm of the Spanish-speaking world, it is not for an outsider to pick holes in. Let us admit, then, that provincial Spain, its local colour and its human types, live in these comedies, as they live, for example, in the tales of Ibáñez, and that by bringing Spain as it is upon the scene, the Quinteros have deserved the very highest praise, and are as sure of a permanent place in their country's remembrance as are those other devotees of Naturalism, Velasquez and Goya, in the graphic arts.

Secondly, in those who profess the writing of comedy, optimism is a legitimate and attractive quality. And the Quintero optimism is of a peculiarly sunny, winning

and consolatory variety, doubly welcome because it comes after a prolonged dose of somewhat grimy pessimism. Their work is almost always light-hearted, though it can scarcely be said to be characterised by wit, in the sense of epigram, or by the point and archness which distinguish Molière and other French writers for the stage. Their characters say few 'good things'; their page seldom flowers, as Benavente's does, with a thing said once for all. But in default of epigram, they have abundant humour, which is always kindly, always refined. For example, though since the 'Satyricon' the parvenu has been counted fair game, their treatment of the *nouveaux riches* in 'Los Leales' is entirely free from gall.

Nor need it be pointed out that, in the delineation of stage character, humour is to wit as Shakespeare is to Congreve. Thus the Quintero comedies have something of the true Quijote quality, with its unfailing geniality. These authors love the sunlight, love life and the natural goodness of mankind. Indeed, in all their works that I have read, I do not recall a single death, scarcely a fault that is unforgivable, or a sorrow that is not to be consoled. Then, their plays are singularly pure, and generally free, not merely from questionable subject, but from the jest which depends on innuendo or on *risqué* situation. Yet the authors are avowed followers of the Naturalistic School! Only, in their case, naturalism is refined by temperament. Their individual organisation, the prime factor in all art, leads them instinctively to reject all that that other 'naturalist,' Zola, instinctively sought after and dwelt upon. And, naturalism for naturalism, give me that of joy and beauty, rather than that of ugliness and foulness!

Yet here inevitably comes in the question of the Quinteros' limitations. Perhaps I have said enough to show that they 'see life steadily,' but they by no means see it whole. For, though in art to be sincerely optimistic is good and produces pleasing results, yet the higher art is neither optimistic nor pessimistic. Let either of these leanings become warped into a system or a mannerism, and art is bound to suffer and to shrink in proportion. Hitherto the Señores Quintero have written as young men; and youth has privileges. It is

an ungracious part to tell a youth that life is not all he thinks it; let him discover that for himself. But are the gifted brothers making this discovery for themselves? Readers of 'Malvaloca' may answer yes. But in 'Así se escribe la historia,' their latest play that I have seen, they are back once more in their own Cranford, to give us a village 'School for Scandal.' That they do this sort of thing inimitably has been gratefully acknowledged. But it may be done too often; and already there are signs that their chosen material is being beaten out thin. Supposing—which the powers avert!—that they stop writing now, they have already accomplished much for Spain and for dramatic literature. My plea is for development, my argument that there is within them a principle of growth as yet unexhausted. And I believe that those who have applauded 'Malvaloca,' or the tragic monologue of 'El Hombre que hace reir,' will bear me out in this. No doubt the wider public is ever ready to welcome repetitions of the old effects by which success was first attained. But in this respect the public is not the artist's truest friend. Briefly, then, I ask, are these 'Heavenly Twins' of modern Spanish Comedy to rest content with laurels won, or will they yet strike out into more arduous paths, adding to the successes of the sock those higher ones pertaining to

'Tragedia cothurnata, fitting kings'?

GEORGE DOUGLAS.

Art. 10.—THE HOUSE OF ROTHSCHILD. ✓

1. *The Romance of the Rothschilds*. By Ignatius Balla. Eveleigh Nash, 1913.
 2. *A History of the Jews in England*. By A. M. Hyamson. Chatto & Windus, 1908.
- And other sources.

MORE fortunate than the heroes who lived before Agamemnon, the aboriginal financiers of the East have found, if not their commemorating bard, yet an imperishable monument of their dealings, as well as their names, in a series of clay tablets, rescued from the dust-heaps of the region watered by the lower streams of the Euphrates and Tigris. The writing on these earthenware fragments shows them to have been the ledgers of a firm which, under the style of Egibi and Sons, from 600 to 500 B.C., carried on a business, entitling them to be considered the predecessors of the famous family which for nearly two centuries has swayed the money markets of the world. Not that the Egibis had any ideas of international finance. Their advances were mostly made to princes or communities in their own neighbourhood on the security of taxes or public works. In that, they resemble the patrician capitalists of mediæval Italy, who, enriched originally by some papal relative, inherited the wealth enabling them, for a sufficiently handsome consideration, to supply neighbouring princes or states with funds for the conduct of war or the domestic undertakings of peace. Hence arose the Dorias, the Torlonias, in Lombardy or Rome, and the Aguados in Spain. The families, like the palaces, of the Italian plutocratic nobility still survive. In England the Lopeses, the Rodrigues, the Goldsmids, had reached positions of national usefulness as well as social distinction. The German capitalists were a later growth; even at Frankfurt, the cradle of the race, its founder, Mayer Amschel (1743-1812), only took the Rothschild name in 1780. More than a century earlier the Berliners, the Frankfurters, the Pragers, the Weiners, the Fuggers* and

* It was in the Tirolese mines of this family that Browning's Paracelsus discovered the subterranean passages.

the Oppenheims had been controlling figures in German finance.

The last of these families gave Mayer Amschel those peeps into a realm of gold where he knew that his powers, his ambition, and the courage and industry supporting it, would place him beyond all rivals in the struggle for wealth. His father's death and the poverty of his kin had brought his education to an end at the age of twelve. Thus was a boy, trained originally for a teacher in the synagogue, destined to establish a monarchy of the mart, outlasting that of the emperors and kings whom his childhood knew. From the Talmud school at Fürth he brought away a knowledge of himself and his peculiar aptitudes that was to be of infinitely greater value than any portion of its curriculum. The old coins used by the professors to illustrate their lectures may not have taught him much history, but they flashed upon him an inspiring revelation of the one element in which he had been formed to live and work. While hawking his goods at the great fairs in the town of his birth, he showed an expertness in all matters concerned with gold and silver that reached the ears of the Landgrave of Hesse, a prince who swelled his revenues by raising and letting out, at a heavy charge, mercenary troops to the British Government. Those transactions secured Mayer Amschel the chance of becoming the Landgrave's right-hand man and, eventually, his chief adviser.

In and after 1785 the Landgrave's purchases of British stock, always conducted by his agent, brought the first Rothschild into relations with the London money market. His position resembled that in a modern stock-broking firm occupied by an 'Authorised Clerk,' strictly responsible to his employers but so trusted by them as to have something of a free hand in laying out their capital. The Landgrave combined the title of a prince with the spirit of a pawnbroker, trusted no one even so far as he could see him, seasoned alike his few open-air recreations and the functions of his petty state with a mixture of buying, selling, and bargaining; always on the lookout for a little better percentage, and fearful only lest his neighbour should have a chance which he himself had missed. His court had been turned into a counting-house; the chief duty of his gentlemen-in-waiting

was to calculate rates of exchange and to advance their royal master's interests by keeping a sharp outlook for the main chance. The Gentile principal could not but be the teacher as well; the pupil bettered the instruction, and so impressed on his sons the lessons that had been taught him that he lived to see all the five prosperously established at the different places assigned them for the display of the family gift.

The eldest, Anselm Mayer, continued to manage the parent business at Frankfort; the second son, Solomon, opened his offices at Vienna; the fourth, James, achieved a purely intellectual distinction, scarcely second to his financial fame, at Paris; the youngest, Charles, conducted the short-lived department of his house at Naples. The third son, Nathan, with whom we are now concerned, concentrated in himself, in their highest form, all the family faculties. Migrating to the British Isles in 1798, he first initiated himself into the mysteries of the cotton trade at Manchester. With the dawn of the 19th century, he went to London and started the great business still flourishing in New Court. Once satisfied as to his son's capacity and prospects, the Frankfort patriarch induced the Landgrave to appoint him his sole agent in London. Shortly afterwards (1806) Nathan Rothschild carried through the first great international transaction, bringing forward the family name as that of the principals, and securing for New Court, as well as for its kindred establishments abroad, the cosmopolitan distinction and influence indicated by the name ever since.

During the first decade of the 19th century Denmark had been compelled by her domestic necessities to be a frequent borrower. In 1801 Mayer Amschel had secured her an advance from the Landgrave. Five years later Nathan Rothschild had prospered to such an extent in London that he had no difficulty in obtaining his father's co-operation for supplying the Copenhagen government with a million or so immediately required. This operation is memorable for two reasons: first, as has been said, it brought forward the first of the English Rothschilds as a power in world-finance; secondly, London, already the largest of European money centres, now began to take the place of 18th-century Amsterdam, and to become the emporium of the markets of the world. So began

the creation of that Rothschild fortune, amounting in a century after Nathan's death to four hundred millions.

The chief contributions to that vast capital, made by the ancestor of the English Rothschilds, may now be briefly traced. Soon after his arrival here this founder of the London dynasty made a valuable acquaintance in Nicholas Vansittart, a man of Dutch extraction, and a future Chancellor of the Exchequer, with much actual experience of Treasury employments. Through him Rothschild heard that the East India Company wished to sell a hundred thousand pounds of gold then in its Leadenhall Street cellars. Rothschild not only bought it but a little later conveyed it to the British Commander in Portugal, Sir Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, whose requirements were urgent. Meanwhile the English General had paid his troops from bills which he drew on the Treasury and which were discounted largely but not exclusively by a group of Maltese, Sicilian, and Spanish bankers. It had now become an object with Downing Street to ascertain the whereabouts of all this paper, and to redeem it without the publicity that might cause an inconvenient disturbance of the money market. The Duke's Treasury paper was floating, often in unsuspected corners, over the whole continent. It needed a man of Rothschild's extraordinary gifts first to conduct a thoroughly exhaustive quest and then to take up the bills at the comparatively small outlay of seven hundred thousand pounds.

Two years later Wellington's decisive victory over Napoleon gave Rothschild the opportunity of surpassing all his earlier financial strokes. The facts concerning this are so closely interwoven with fable that I was cautioned many years ago by the first Lord Rothschild against adopting in detail any of the current versions, but was told there might be substantial truth in the account given me, through A. W. Kinglake's good offices, by Adolphe Thiers, of the manner in which the financier first heard of the English success. Rothschild was then staying at Ghent in a house whose grounds adjoined those of the villa belonging to the royal exile, Louis XVIII. Here the founder of New Court stationed himself so that through the window opening on the gravel walk he could see what passed in the king's room. At last

he saw the entrance of the messenger who brought tidings from the battlefield. Further, he perceived that the man knelt down at the royal feet, as one doing homage to a sovereign who had come by his own again. That was enough. All reports to the contrary notwithstanding, Napoleon had fallen; and Nathan Rothschild, with this priceless knowledge, returned to London with all the speed that courage and capital could secure. There he took his usual corner in the Royal Exchange (the building with which Jerman had replaced Gresham's structure and which was itself destroyed in 1838). Alarming war news had produced a depression that gradually became a panic; nothing of reassurance or hope was to be gathered from the appearance of Nathan Mayer Rothschild, who alone in the city of London knew the facts. As a consequence every one began to sell Consols, the only Government stock then dealt in, except the lotteries with their tickets. As fast as the public sold, Rothschild, through his agents, bought. Gradually the truth began to leak out; the price of the securities rebounded; and Rothschild readily found good customers for the stock bought by him on the falling market. In the course of some hours he thus realised sums the exact total of which has never been published and was perhaps never certainly known.

The whole Napoleonic period stimulated Nathan Rothschild to that succession of far-reaching schemes that first won for him the description the 'Napoleon of Finance.' 'Rothschild and I,' the Duke of Wellington is reported, perhaps fabled, to have said, 'both owe something of our success to the gift of knowing what is in progress on the other side of a wall.' Not only England but our chief ally, Prussia, must need—Rothschild foresaw—large supplies before their decisive triumph could follow the escape from Elba in March 1815. In London, Vansittart, still Chancellor of the Exchequer, was in daily communication with New Court. Berlin had decided that the only thing to do was to send the Finance Minister, Bülow, loan-hunting in London. In this way began the earliest direct relations between the Prussian capital and New Court. A transaction so momentous called for the united action of all the brothers. During the first quarter of the 19th century the official

records, digested in Mr Balla's book, give eighteen million as the amount of Rothschild advances to continental States in the war with France. Reviewing these operations in 1827, Herries, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, estimated at half a million the saving effected by the Rothschilds for England by preventing a fall in the value of public securities; 'the brothers,' said Herries, 'deserve the highest praise for their efforts in the public service. Their consequent profit was secured honestly and openly gained.'

The conclusion of a European peace found Prussia drained by the war and at her wit's end for replenishing her exchequer. By this time Nathan Rothschild was spoken of in the City as almost dictating the rate of exchange. He needed little, if any, family assistance for a further loan of five millions to Prussia in 1818. He had not only stored an annually increasing number of millions for almost indefinite and automatic multiplication by his posterity; he had practically defined as well as illustrated the family methods of the future, and had set in order the personal agencies by which he proved that, if knowledge is power, it can also be made an instrument of wealth. For a sufficient supply of European intelligence when, as yet, newspapers had little to convey, he depended not only on well-trained flocks of carrier pigeons, but on interviews with the captains of ships from foreign parts, newly berthed in the London docks. Whatever information, from the old world or the new, there might be reached him first. His informants spared themselves any attempt to mislead him, not only because they found in him the best of paymasters but because they knew his penetration would defy any attempt at fraud.

From the close of the 18th century, through the first decade and a half of the 19th, Nathan Rothschild's most instructive and confidential agent was Friedrich von Gentz, who, born at Breslau in 1764, began life in the Prussian Civil Service, then attached himself to Austrian diplomacy in general, to Metternich in particular, and became secretary not only at the preliminary conferences but, in 1814, at the Congress of Vienna itself. Still earlier, William Pitt had found in him a discreet friend and Napoleon an incorruptible foe. His life was passed in the most brilliant and powerful society of Europe, as well as in

other *coulisses* than those of diplomacy; for he was free of the green-room at the Comédie Française, and there were personal reasons for his delight when in 1830 he watched Fanny Elssler's triumph at Berlin. Never having believed in the Bonapartist Star, he was abused by Napoleon for a 'mercenary scribe.' Without private fortune or popularity of pen, he was compelled to find the best market he could for his writings and for his extraordinary knowledge of affairs.

Alderman Beckford used to complain that he had lost by speculating on the strength of the information he received from Lord Chatham. Rothschild at least, as regards his relations with Gentz, was conscious of no such grievance. 'That,' was the capitalist's lament over Gentz's grave, 'was a friend indeed. It would not be believed what large sums he cost me; for he had only to write upon a bill what he wished to have, and he had it instantly. Now I see for the first time what we have lost; and I would give three times as much to call him back to life.' The words, 'He had only to write and had it instantly,' were not lost upon Thackeray, who dipped into Varnhagen Von Ense's voluminous memoirs, and found in them hints for a satire on the Crœsuses of New Court, against whom he nourished a prejudice. Thus in 'Codlingsby,' the burlesque on Disraeli's first masterpiece, Mendoza's twenty-fourth cashier, Aminadab, has a house in Grosvenor Square, because, as his employer approvingly says, 'he is fond of display, and all my people may have what money they want.' Reviewing these ancient pleasantries now, one can scarcely avoid a feeling of surprise at the resentment they originally aroused or at the lifelong bitterness felt by Disraeli towards Thackeray. Some of Thackeray's jests were fair and commonplace enough. 'I trade in pennies and in millions,' is a description of the Rothschild methods closely resembling that given by Gentz, whose account of Nathan's rise includes the smaller miscellaneous transactions that had first engaged him when hovering between the Lancashire cotton capital and the metropolis of the Empire.

Before his death on the eve of the Victorian Era, Nathan Rothschild had laid the foundations of the family fame and power with other materials than wealth alone.

Fidelity to the paternal tradition of family union in all great enterprises, caution and foresight, a readiness to give financial advice to smaller States even when they had no occasion to be borrowers, and an avoidance of merely sensational strokes whatever the potential profit—such is Gentz's epitome of the secret of New Court success. The family caution showed itself in a general refusal to deal with States considered financially unsound, like Spain and the South American Republics, though it did not prevent Nathan's extensive transactions with the Brazilian Government in 1824. In that year Brazil had applied for a loan to another banking house, but the interest asked was so high as abruptly to end the negotiations. Rothschild then came to the rescue with 2,200,000*l.* at once; and five years later another 800,000*l.* were forthcoming, on the condition that part of it should be reserved for the unpaid interest on the earlier loan. By this time the Rothschild name had become a synonym for wealth on both sides of the Atlantic. Thus, when the news of Sir Walter Scott's crash was given by his friend Morritt of Rokeby at the Brighton Pavilion in 1826, 'Scott ruined!' exclaimed Lord Dudley. 'Then let every man to whom he has given months of delight send his sixpence and he will rise to-morrow morning richer than Rothschild.'

To the social observer the closing scenes in the first act of the Rothschild drama conveyed a deepening sense alike of splendour and power. His son's marriage to his first cousin was the cause of Nathan's last journey to Frankfort, which in his later years he frequently visited, always taking Paris on his way home. Like his brother Solomon of Vienna, he had there a magnificent residence, forming for years a social centre of international statesmanship and finance. Here it was that Talleyrand made a remark prophetically appropriate to 20th-century costume. Two young ladies were much observed for their dress, which left their necks and ankles conspicuously exposed. The sayer of good things murmured in Nathan's ear, '*Les robes de ces demoiselles ressemblent à un mauvais jour d'hiver, qui commence trop tard et finit trop tôt.*' This was said at Nathan's ball in his French palace, whose beauties elicited from a guest a compliment to the hostess. 'If,' replied the lady, 'you

had seen M. Solomon's hotel next door, you would think our house was only the stables attached to it.' The dazzling effects of Nathan Rothschild's Paris drawing-room were combined during this period with the exercise of a wholesome influence for peace in his bureau. In 1830 the July revolution in Paris was followed by the Belgian declaration of independence. The King of the Netherlands refused his assent; and the mutual rivalries of the neighbouring Powers threatened danger to the peace of Europe. All the European States wanted money, and dreaded war chiefly on account of the consequent fall in funds. The preservation of European peace rested with Rothschild, whose first condition in granting a loan to the Brussels Government was that the new kingdom should renounce anything in itself provocative of war.

Very shortly after these transactions, a pigeon, fluttering in through the open window of the St Swithin's Lane premises, brought the news of its owner's death. A few days later, the whole *corps diplomatique* attached to the English Court witnessed the funeral ceremony in the Jewish East End burial-ground. The departed Crœsus had left four sons. Of these the third, Nathaniel, did not follow his father's English footsteps but settled in France, while one at least of his uncles looked after the family interests in Germany. The London house passed entirely to Nathan's firstborn, Lionel, and the two other sons Antony and Mayer. Nothing is more noticeable in the record of this remarkable line than the uniformity with which, in each generation, the family instinct and genius descended from father to son. Nathan's strong brains and illimitable resources had made him a national institution in his adopted country. In 1854 that position was emphasised by a sixteen million loan which the Crimean War forced on the English Government, and which the banking house in St Swithin's Lane provided. In short, during the greater part of the 19th century, from the Liverpool Government onward to that of Disraeli, the house of Rothschild remained continuously in closer relations with the British Cabinet than those ever occupied by any private business house before or since.

Meanwhile they had been making for themselves a place in society only less important than that which they had won in politics. When Nathan Rothschild's

knowledge of polite London began, Holland House was in the plenitude of the various interests described by Macaulay; it occurred to the first English Rothschild that he might as well acquire a suburban residence of the same sort. At no great distance from the Kensington mansion, Gunnersbury fell vacant and was bought, as the first Lord Rothschild himself told me, by his grandfather about the year 1834. Immediately on its purchase its hospitalities began to obtain the same kind of reputation that they enjoyed more fully and prominently when dispensed by Nathan's elder son and successor, Baron Lionel Rothschild. During the thirties, the disturbing effects of the first Reform Bill at every stage of its progress made themselves felt in every quarter of the aristocratic or fashionable world. Their seconds in command, if not the actual leaders on both sides, occasionally met each other in the Gunnersbury grounds, whose garden parties, however, did not reach their greatest distinction till the period, some years later, chosen by Lord Beaconsfield for describing them in his last novel. Then it was that Disraeli himself, as the suburban guest of Baron Lionel, the 'Adrian Neuchatel' of 'Endymion,' chatted amicably with Lord Palmerston, whose 'turbulent' statesmanship, only a day or two before, he had been denouncing from the Opposition benches. Hither the future Emperor of the French, during his London exile, drove down in his friend Count Alfred D'Orsay's cabriolet. The climax of Baron Lionel's career as host was reached on March 4, 1857, when his eldest daughter Leonora married her cousin Alphonse. On that occasion, Greys and Stanhopes, after a spell of some mutual bitterness, were surprised to find themselves in the same company. Among the guests were the best-known representatives of the 19th-century cosmopolitan fashion and intellect, Sir John Acton, Ranke the historian, Lord Macaulay, Mrs Norton, the George Grotes, Lady Molesworth, and a few others who, like that Victorian hostess, lived to the eve of our own era, such as Alfred Montgomery, C. P. Villiers, and Henry Calcraft.

Among the tastes common to Lionel and Mayer was an interest in the Turf. Mayer's Mentmore stables became famous during the early fifties. Like Lionel, he

had as good an eye for the points of a horse as for the capacities of a man. Each of the brothers was a baron; and there seems to be some doubt which of the two was always pre-eminently indicated by that title on the racecourse. Baron Lionel's New Court innings (1836-1879) exceeded the length of his father's by five years, while immeasurably surpassing it in the magnitude of his transactions. Thus the Rothschild advances to different States on both sides of the Atlantic had reached the sum of 200,000,000*l.* by 1875. At that date there began those later operations in the land of the Pharaohs uniting, as it seemed to all Englishmen, more closely than ever the riches of a family with the well-being of an empire. The 'Quarterly Review' (Vol. CXLII) contained a full account of the purchase of the Suez Canal shares with the four millions forthcoming at the shortest notice from the great house in St Swithin's Lane, at two and a half per cent., or a total profit of 100,000*l.* as interest. It may be mentioned, however, on the first Lord Rothschild's authority, that soon after Disraeli's return to power in 1873 the possibility of acquiring the shares for this country had suggested itself in the Sunday talks of the Prime Minister with the master of Gunnersbury.

Later ventures in Egyptian finance were reserved for Baron Lionel's immediate successors, with whom the 19th and the early 20th century were best acquainted. Of that generation none is now left; the first Lord Rothschild died on March 31, 1915; his younger brother Leopold passed away two years later, on May 29, 1917; the last survivor of the brothers, Alfred, the second son, lived until January 1918. This was the trio whose resources and foresight enabled two successive administrations to avert from Egypt the doom of bankruptcy and ruin. This help came from New Court in the shape of monthly advances on no legal security, but on the strength of a private note written by Mr Gladstone's Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville. The first Lord St Aldwyn followed Mr Gladstone at the Exchequer in 1885 and bore the same testimony as Lord Granville to the courageous and absolutely essential services rendered during the long-drawn Anglo-Egyptian crisis by the great firm.

Nathan Rothschild had given his sons the best intellectual training within his reach, selecting for them

the most thoroughly equipped of German universities, and after that a shrewdly planned course of travel through the European homes of beauty and art. Baron Lionel paid the same attention to whatever might enrich and strengthen the brain-power of his boys. The three brothers constituting the English firm down to 1915 were all at Cambridge and distinguished themselves in mathematics. His uncle, James, the earliest of the Paris branch, was the first of the family whose pungent conversational wit won European fame; and some of Sidonia's most sententious epigrams in Disraeli's great novel were the echo of the French Rothschild's *bons mots* or repartees. During the revolutionary months of 1830 a little band of socialists made a hostile demonstration outside James Rothschild's house. The master invited two spokesmen of the crowd into his room for a friendly talk. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'you are, I believe, for an equal distribution of property. I have therefore prepared some figures that may interest you. The population of France is so and so; my available money amounts to —. Divide that total among your fellow countrymen and yourselves, and you will see that it works out at precisely half a franc per head. Allow me to present each of you with your share and to wish you good morning.' Something of the Paris uncle's humorous cynicism descended to the chief and ablest of the London nephews. Towards the close of his life the first Lord Rothschild heard, at the third Lord Orford's, a golden youth who had made his way into the City speak with all Mr Mantalini's contempt for the 'demnition coppers.' 'That young man,' quietly observed the Plutus of St Swithin's Lane, 'does not seem to know much of large transactions.'

During the summer of 1869 Queen Victoria had expressed herself very strongly against certain peerages whose creation the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary were supposed to desire; they included the advance to a barony of the baronetcy already inherited from his uncle Anthony by the head of the English Rothschilds. The honour was delayed until 1885; * by that date the first Lord Rothschild had found more than one opportunity for rendering the government a purely political service.

* Lord Fitzmaurice's 'Granville,' ii, 17.

In 1870 a short interval passed between Lord Clarendon's death and the appointment of Lord Granville as his successor at the Foreign Office. Before the new Secretary of State had kissed hands, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern's candidature for the Spanish throne had filled Europe with apprehension. In his perplexity the French Emperor, then staying at St Cloud, sent for Baron Rothschild (of Paris); 'for the moment,' he said, 'the English Foreign Office was without a head. Would not, therefore, the French Baron impart direct to Mr Gladstone the dangers of the suggested candidature.' Accordingly, without delay, a telegram in cipher was sent to Baron Lionel. The task of deciphering the despatch fell to the Baron's eldest son, the future peer. He, too, it was who, after much consultation with his father, took the telegram on the morning of July 6 to the Prime Minister, then living in Carlton House Terrace. The negotiations that followed during the next few days are described in Lord Morley's biography of his old chief.* At each stage the heads of the Rothschild firm were as closely *au courant* with all that passed in Downing Street as its founder had been with the policy of Lord Liverpool when financing the Duke's soldiers in Spain or clearing his paper elsewhere.

The social organisation of New Court had been carried as far as the time allowed by Nathan; his son invested it with most of the features which were to be still further developed by Baron Lionel's posterity in the next generation, and are pleasantly remembered to-day by those whose experience of the Rothschild hospitalities extended from the palace in Piccadilly to the luncheon room in St Swithin's Lane, where a cut off the famous Gunnersbury or Tring saddle of mutton formed part of the welcome awaiting the properly accredited visitor. So in the 15th century the Kingmaker's London house in what is now Warwick Lane remained open every forenoon, that any citizen so disposed might enter and cut a juicy slice or carry off on his dagger as much as the blade could hold from one of the six oxen that supplied the Nevill breakfast table.

The three brothers who played the host on such

* 'Life of Gladstone,' vol. ii, pp. 324-5.

occasions each personified some aspect of interest of 19th-century England. The eldest and the youngest indeed were both in their different ways keen sportsmen. All by artistic study, travel, culture, and wealth had made themselves first-rate judges of æsthetic production in all its branches from painting and sculpture to pottery. All, too, as country gentlemen and landlords, personally looked after the homes of their workmen as well as the model farms and dairies on their estates. These beneficent activities and interests were shared by them with their cousin and brother-in-law. Baron Ferdinand of Vienna had married Baron Lionel's daughter Eveline. After her death his Buckinghamshire house, Waddesdon Park, was managed by his sister. The creative power of wealth could scarcely show itself more picturesquely than in the conversion of some barren, treeless acres, half a dozen miles from Aylesbury, into a well-wooded park, famous for its chestnuts, all of which had been brought from their original homes often at a considerable distance and in one or two instances even from beyond seas. The week-end Waddesdon parties during the 'eighties were not only the most brilliant and agreeable gatherings, but were also of real and lasting socio-political importance. Here, as at Mr and Mrs Henry Oppenheim's dinners beneath the Bruton Street roof that was once Lord Granville's, Lord Randolph Churchill and Lord Hartington made up their differences and, together with Mr Chamberlain, one of the most regular guests at both places, arranged the Unionist combinations in view of Mr Gladstone's expected surrender to Irish Nationalism.

England is not the only country where the Rothschild hospitalities are handed down from generation to generation in the classic pages of the 'Almanach des Gourmands.' Nowhere else, however, has the family or the race to which it belongs risen to a position so conspicuous or powerful, or one so variously and reciprocally serviceable to itself, and even to the Empire in whose metropolis Nathan Rothschild planted it one hundred and eighteen years ago. The London blend of *La Haute Finance*, *La Haute Politique*, and *La Haute Cuisine* has been and remains unique. Time alone can show whether in the new order of things, now rising, this amalgamation can

be maintained, or can unite itself with the same vast resources and, consequently, power as in the past. The Rothschild millions during past years often ministered after a fashion not advertised in print to national prosperity by subsidising banks and supporting or strengthening enterprises like mines, factories, and mills. Operations like those belong probably altogether to the past. The process of European reconstruction after the war may revive the old appeals of Ambassadors and Chancellors to St Swithin's Lane, but, until lately, since the epochs already reviewed and the earlier years of the present century, the various European States had so improved their position as to be in little need of an international relieving officer. A banking house like that whose fortunes have now been recounted, encounters to-day a competition whose germs were only discernible after the house of Rothschild had existed for more than a quarter of a century. In 1834 the London and Westminster Banking Company was established. Two years afterwards came the London and County Bank, to be amalgamated with the former at a much later date. Other developments of the same sort soon followed. At the present time the issue of foreign loans is recognised as the legitimate business of the great joint-stock companies, which have shot out from their London centre branches into all the chief capitals abroad. At the same time the family riches remain so stupendous that by merely sitting still and doing nothing, its members command the means for decisive action in any financial stroke suggested by the changing opportunities of international affairs.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

Art. 11.—THE INTERPRETATION OF SURVIVALS. ✓

Folk-Lore in the Old Testament : Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend and Law. By Sir J. G. Frazer. Three vols. London : Macmillan and Co., 1918. 37s. 6d. net.

THE original meaning of the word 'folk-lore' is tolerably clear. When Mr William Thoms in 1846 designated under this title a new field of research, and subsequently helped to found the Folk-Lore Society in order to exploit it, he had in mind, more or less exclusively, the traditional culture of the European peasant. For him, and for those who worked with him, such rustic folk-lore is essentially a form of primitive culture, differentiated from other forms by the fact that, through contact with a high civilisation, the old-world institutions are in a general state of decay. And there is much truth in this view. The folk is out of keeping with modern conditions. It is not to be found in cities. A new country, such as a British colony, is without it. Again, the vehicle of its ideas is an oral tradition. The folk as such is unlettered, and hence ceases to be itself when the board school and the newspaper invade its haunts. Books and book-learning being almost unknown to it, it relies for guidance in the daily round on neighbourly example and word-of-mouth communication. The mass of such examples and communications forms the lore of the folk, its social heritage of wisdom.

Thus, the folk itself, being as it were, in a state of survival throughout Europe, it was natural to regard its lore as made up of survivals. To use the metaphor that had wide currency from the first, folk-lore was but a heap of fossils. Correspondingly, then, the science of folk-lore was defined as the study of survivals, a palæontology of human culture. But the results of such a method of interpretation have not proved wholly satisfactory. The scientific interest is one-sided. Fossil-hunting has been overdone. Owing to this bias there has been failure to discriminate between the old and the merely old-fashioned, the chronologically and the typologically primitive. Hence the need is felt for a revised method of folk-lore study. This must treat folk-lore not as so much dead matter, but as the outcome of an

organic process, namely, of an existing or recently existing folk-life. If this folk-life be studied as a whole, change and movement are in evidence everywhere. If the old be conserved, it is likewise readapted and transformed; nor is the new altogether rejected, though it is so created or assimilated as normally to wear the semblance of the old.

To take an example. A charm for removing warts may, apparently, resemble a piece of savage magic. Yet comparisons based simply on its form will not tell us how old it is, nor whence it comes. It may have been improvised yesterday by some latter-day medicine-man of the country-side, half leech and half wizard. It may be a degraded scrap of scientific medicine, perhaps mediæval, or perhaps, if it belong to what is known as the southern tradition, going right back by way of the Arabs to Hippocrates himself. Or, again, it may be part of the northern tradition and embody the rude notions of ancestral Danes or Saxons. Meanwhile, whatever be its origin, it is likely to conform to a general pattern such as the mind of the folk abidingly approves. In order to explain it, therefore, psychological, no less than historical, conditions must be taken into account. Moreover, the former lend themselves to observation; whereas the latter are mostly matters of inference, shading off by degrees into bare conjecture.

It must next be asked what folk-lore means for Sir James Frazer, in his capacity of Biblical critic. Clearly the term is used in an extended sense that carries us beyond the peasant-culture of Europe. Indeed, a general definition is provided in his Preface that assigns it a connotation so wide as almost to be vague. Folk-lore, he says, 'in the broadest sense of the word may be said to embrace the whole body of a people's traditional beliefs and customs, so far as these appear to be due to the collective action of the multitude and cannot be traced to the individual influence of great men.' It would be easy to carp at this generous conception of the subject. Are we to gather that the folk is society *minus* its leaders, and that folk-lore and biography are henceforth to divide the field of history between them? But history certainly has these two sides, whatever we are going to call them; and perhaps all that Sir James

Frazer wishes to indicate is that in a general way his present work relates to the one side rather than to the other. Nay, we might venture to pursue this line of thought a little further on our own account. Just as there is a psychology of the crowd, so there might be a psychology of what Sir James Frazer would call the multitude or, less happily, the folk. The crowd is a temporary and casual assemblage of human beings. As such it exhibits peculiar activities and impulses that have been described and analysed with some success. So too, then, the multitude, being a permanent crowd, as it were, and one that can perpetuate its collective tendencies in the form of a tradition, displays a special type of behaviour such as is well worth studying apart. Or, since the multitude, as thus understood, though it stands for a universal aspect of human society, is by no means so prominent a feature in one social context as in another, it might be more profitable to institute a series of studies devoted, as one might say, to leading cases.

In this direction something has already been achieved. M. Lévy-Bruhl, for instance, in his well-known book, '*Les Fonctions Mentales dans les Sociétés Inférieures*,' deals with the collective mind or 'mentality' of the savage tribe. Mr Graham Wallas, again, in his '*Human Nature in Politics*,' has examined the proletariat of the modern state from the same point of view. But the folk, in the ordinary sense of the peasantry, though it provides a prerogative instance of the kind required, has hitherto been almost ignored by the student of social psychology. Despite the vast mass of detailed evidence that lies ready to hand, there has never yet been attempted a comprehensive description of the mental life of the folk at our doors, much less a general analysis that brings out how and why it is so markedly gregarious in its distinctive manifestations. If this were to be done, the piecemeal method of dealing with folk-lore as a scrap-heap of cultural fossils would presumably go by the board once for all. In so far, then, as Sir James Frazer's definition of folk-lore foreshadows a better way of dealing with subjects of the kind, namely, one that regards tradition as the live expression of a collective consciousness, it is heartily to be welcomed;

even if his use of the name betrays a tendency to confound the species with the genus.

It remains to enquire whether Sir James Frazer's actual treatment of the folk-lore of the Old Testament accords with his general definition of the subject, or with the psychological method that this definition seems to imply. If it does, the fact is not obvious. The reader is frankly told that the aim of the treatise is to look for folk-lore in the shape of sundry 'survivals' of savagery that are 'preserved like fossils' in the Old Testament. As far as this goes, folk-lore might consist entirely in survivals; and, more than that, it might seem that the proposition can be converted simply, and all survivals, even such as occur in a literature, are to rank as folk-lore. For the rest, 'the collective action of the multitude' is nowhere in evidence as a principle of explanation, being applied neither to the Jewish people nor to those savages from whom the survivals in question are supposed to have descended.

What method, then, does the actual treatment involve? At first sight the procedure might seem to be simply this: to pick out certain stories, beliefs or customs of the Jews that have an old-fashioned air; to adduce savage parallels in plenty; and to leave the student to draw his own conclusions. But to say that no more is attempted would be unfair. Sir James Frazer's intimate acquaintance with the savage and his ways enables him usually to suggest some plausible ground for a given idea or institution as found among the savages that he cites. If thereupon he could prove that the Jewish analogue had little or no present meaning for the Jews of Biblical times, this would at least afford a presumption that we must seek for its origin in the past history of the people; though not necessarily in a savage past, unless no intermediate state of culture could possibly have brought it into being. But on this side the argument tends to be sketchy. After all, Jewish history is a secondary interest with Sir James Frazer. Nevertheless, his industry and his erudition are both so prodigious that he is not likely to have left anything undone that seemed to him worth doing. The chances are that, if any of his results are at all inconclusive, the cause—apart, of course, from sheer lack of evidence—is the

tendency, deeply rooted in folk-lore study, to pursue a naive method of survivals that confuses the historically ancient with the psychologically crude.

Genuine survivals are habits of society that have in part lost their meaning and use for those who retain them. But in practice it is very difficult to apply these tests of meaning and use to the habits—the customary ways of feeling, thinking, and acting—of any society or section of society with an outlook widely differing from our own. Their standards, not ours, provide the only objective criterion of the inadequacy imputed to the alleged survival; but it is only too easy to succumb to the fallacy of supposing that what is more or less meaningless and useless in our own eyes must be so for all sorts and conditions of men. And not only is it certainly untrue to imagine that human behaviour universally rests on the same reasons; it is even uncertain how far some of its varieties can be attributed to motives of the rational type at all. As in the psychology of the individual some experiences, for instance dreams, are held to be governed from below the threshold of consciousness, so in social psychology it is the modern fashion to postulate a 'collective unconscious' whence processes originate that in their surface appearance seem to set the logic of the purposive life at defiance. Be this as it may, it is a well-established law that conduct ever runs ahead of the power of analysing its grounds; so that, even where a trained faculty of reflexion is at work, the real springs of action remain obscure, being never identical and sometimes quite at variance with the reasons whereby we justify it after the event.

How much harder, then, is it to arrive at the true motives in the case of the unsophisticated type of man who lacks the power of *ex-post-facto* justification; who, like the gentleman in the story, 'never apologises.' As Turgenev says of the Russian peasant: 'Who can understand him? He does not understand himself.' Thus the student of survivals must beware lest he embark on a wild-goose chase in search of an original meaning that never was. The peasant does so-and-so, he knows not why. Here are savages that seem to do the like, but, alas! if they once knew why, they have forgotten. Whereupon infinite regress seems suggested. The

method of survivals has great value when critically employed; but due allowance must be made for the fact that lack of meaning may or may not imply loss of meaning. It may either be the effect of disuse, and so be referable to antecedent historical conditions; or, as the symptom of an imperfect mental integration, it may be assignable to psychological conditions operating here and now.

It is high time to pass on to consider Sir James Frazer's particular results; and all the more so because much of what has hitherto been said is not meant to apply especially to him. Rather the opportunity caused by the appearance of an important work constructed on what may be called the classical model has been utilised in order to glance at recent tendencies, such as augur the adoption of new methods, or at any rate an exacter use of the old. Thus, on the one hand, the principle of historical affiliation, as proved by cultural diffusion from a centre, has of late received great emphasis; and in its service a method has been developed whereby the evidential value of survivals is clearly demonstrated, at any rate within the two departments of technology and social organisation. On the other hand, psychologists of the Freudian school have essayed a new interpretation of primitive culture, more especially as regards certain aspects of mythology and religion; and their findings, however tentative at present, at least suggest that we must reckon not only with the formative influence of a quasi-mechanical transmission from one group of men to another, but likewise with that of a spontaneous generation, constantly renewed, such as issues from the depths of our common human nature. In the meantime, Sir James Frazer, preferring fact to theory, is more concerned to adduce similarities in culture than to decide whether these similarities are to be explained in one way or in the other. In so far as he wears the mantle of Robertson Smith, he seeks to do justice to historical causes. Inasmuch, however, as he likewise loyally maintains the tradition of Tylor, he is not oblivious of psychological conditions; which Tylor long ago distinguished as the causes lying nearer at hand, and hence forming an especially profitable object of research.

If there is a flaw in his method, it is simply that he does not realise how near at hand these latter causes often are, but tends to relegate them one and all to the past. Yet at all events it is a cheering view that any low-grade habits we may still possess are due to historical accident, not to ourselves.

Sir James Frazer's sub-title implies a logical division of his subject under the three heads of religion, legend, and law. Some such classification of the material is convenient, and may be followed here; though it must not be forgotten that every topic alike falls in the first instance under the category of religion, since it relates to the content of a hierarchical tradition and a sacred text. First, then, we may deal with legend, if, as he presumably does, Sir James Frazer intends to include under this heading, not only stories about remarkable persons and events, but also stories about origins, such as are usually classed as ætiological, or explanatory, myths. A typical example is the myth of the creation of man. Having analysed the earlier and more naive of the two narratives preserved in Genesis, Sir James Frazer proceeds to muster by its side a large number of more or less similar tales. Some belong to what Dr Farnell would term 'the adjacent anthropology,' here represented by a fairly civilised environment; and the rest hail from the remotest corners of the uncivilised world. He 'cannot doubt that such rude conceptions of the origin of mankind, common to Greeks, Hebrews, Babylonians and Egyptians, were handed down to the civilised peoples of antiquity by their savage or barbarous forefathers.' But can he, and does he, prove it? This certainly is an occasion when we must allow for the possibility of independent invention. What could be more natural and universal than to want to know how first there came to be men? To which question there can be but one of two answers: either that they were made, or that they grew. The latter view is wide-spread among savages, who are notoriously proud to claim an animal ancestry; and it may well be that some folk-lorist of the future will maintain that the Darwinian theory itself is a survival of totemism. But here we are concerned with the other notion that men were made.

The Biblical account simply says that God 'formed

man of the dust of the ground.' Hereupon Sir James Frazer comments: 'To the Hebrews this derivation of our species from the dust of the ground suggested itself all the more naturally because, in their language, the word for "ground" (*adamah*) is in form the feminine of the word for "man" (*adam*).' He elsewhere adds: 'The Hebrew word for man in general is *adam*, the word for ground is *adamah*, and the word for red is *adom*; so that by a natural and almost necessary concatenation of causes we arrive at the conclusion that our first parent was modelled out of red earth.' The tone of the last passage perhaps verges on irony; but, if the suggestion of an etymological basis for the myth is seriously meant, then surely our search for its origin must be confined to one linguistic area. But in this case what is the precise relevance of a parallel from outside this area—say, the example cited from Egypt of the god Khnoumou who moulded men out of clay on his potter's wheel? Besides, in the comparison of stories it is highly unsafe to deduce a historical connexion from the recurrence of a single incident. Further, an incident is hardly recognisable as one and the same when it varies from an exhibition of the potter's art, as in the Egyptian instance, to the making of a clay figure in relief upon a piece of bark, as in an Australian case adduced as a parallel; where perhaps a piece of imitative magic is implied, since neither god nor man in aboriginal Australia ever tried to make a pot. The only satisfactory way of demonstrating diffusion by culture-contact in the case of a story is to discover variants of the same plot or combination of incidents, as is done for instance in Miss Cox's *Cinderella*, a model investigation of folk-tale distribution. Nothing of the sort being attempted here, we are left to make what we can out of the scattered episodes. Of these, perhaps, the most striking is the creation of Eve out of a rib. Certain Asiatic parallels Sir James Frazer believes to be echoes of the Biblical account, due to missionary influence. But what is to be made of a story, reported from three different parts of Polynesia, that the first woman was named Ivi, having been created out of a rib or bone, for which *ivi* is the regular Polynesian word? It appears too that *ivi*, bone, is widely used in various secondary senses that include

wife, widow, relation, family. Thus there is good reason to suspect the development of an etymological myth on the spot; and yet the coincidence, if it be but that, with the Genesis story is most remarkable. But enough has been said to make plain both the intrinsic difficulty of the comparative study of folk-tales, and the inadequacy of the proof that the Biblical creation-myth is derived from a savage original. Naive it certainly is, and the product of a naive way of thinking; but such a mental habit is not peculiar to a low stage of general culture; as witness the fact that a large number of civilised people accept the Bible story to this day.

The treatment of the myth of the fall of man is more convincing. In the first place, it is clearly shown that the tale as we have it is what Tylor would term a partial survival, a re-adaptation of an older theme which has, however, left its mark on the new version in the shape of certain irrelevancies. Thus the tree of life appears in the story without contributing to its point; and this fact by itself leads us to suspect that the somewhat transcendental problem, How came sin into the world? was grafted on to the ingenuous and more downright question, How did death first come? In the second place, the hunt for parallels culminates in the discovery of a genuine story-cycle of the primitive type required. Man is sent a message bidding him live and not die, but the animal deputed as messenger perverts the message, so that man dies. Sometimes the messenger by his lie gets immortal life for himself, as did the frog; for it is well known that frogs come to life again as soon as the rainy season begins. This group of tales belongs to Africa; but outside this area Sir James Frazer collects many stories about animals, and in particular serpents, that, by casting their skin or otherwise, renew their youth and do not die; and some of these narratives from South America, Indonesia, Melanesia, and so on, likewise explain, in one way or another, how man lost or missed the gift of immortality which the animal now has. Meanwhile, not the slightest hint is given how a historical connexion between the Biblical myth and these savage 'Just-so stories' is to be made out; and the adjacent anthropology that might have supplied an intermediate link is totally neglected. This is the more

surprising because a tree of life is known to Babylonian mythology. But Sir James Frazer throughout deals with Babylonian analogies somewhat perfunctorily, perhaps because he feels that so intricate a matter is better left to the special student.

Babylonia, however, is duly made responsible for the stories of Babel and of the Flood. Babel, indeed, seems to mean Babylon. 'The commentators are probably right in tracing the origin of the story to the deep impression produced by the great city on the simple minds of Semitic nomads.' One of the great temple-towers provides the nucleus of the tale; and ideas have gathered round it concerning the nemesis attending such heaven-scaling efforts, and, again, about the origin of language—ideas that can be matched elsewhere among primitive folk, though they are nowhere found in this particular combination. The legend of the Flood, which formed the subject of Sir James Frazer's Huxley lecture, is examined at great length; and his method of handling and interpreting such material is explicitly revealed as nowhere else in the book. He will not seek to rival Winternitz in the attempt to prove historical relationship by reference to the number of elements that different versions have in common, leaving such calculations to those who have 'a statistical and mathematical turn of mind.' By simple inspection, however, he decides that, though diffusion from local centres may have occurred in certain regions such as America and Polynesia, these deluge-stories have for the most part originated independently. The Bible story, of course, goes back to Babylon and Sumer, and presumably relates to the inundations of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys, if not to some particular flood that impressed the popular imagination by its violence. Hence it must be classed as a legend. Certain other tales, however, are to be regarded rather as 'myths of observation.' Thus Sir James Frazer refuses to connect the Greek tradition of Deucalion with the Babylonian group of legends. 'The Thessalian story is probably nothing but a false inference from the physical geography of the mountain-ringed Thessalian basin and its outlet, the gorge of Tempe.' Whatever be the value of such explanations, it is to be noted that they do not necessarily

carry us far into the 'backward of time,' merely postulating a pre-scientific habit of mind which, in the case of Sumer, need not even have been pre-literary. The same remark applies to Sir James Frazer's interpretation of the hero-legends of the Jews, as for example those concerning Moses, Samson, Solomon, Elijah, Jonah. It is in respect of quality, not age, that they are primitive, presupposing much the same mental conditions as do the mediæval lives of the saints.

Passing on from legend to religion and law, we may note that under the two latter heads customs are mostly examined; and that the method of survivals is more likely to be successful in dealing with customs than with mental habits. Religious and legal institutions tend to be organised in systems, and a given custom that is not in keeping with the prevailing system and lacks its support may with some safety be treated as the relic of an earlier dispensation. To go further, however, and assign each system to its place in a general evolutionary scale would be at best a precarious task. For instance, the centralised and henotheistic system of religion so passionately advocated by the prophets was in principle incompatible with the chaotic polytheism involved in the cult of local *baalim*, high places, sacred trees and stones, and so forth. The fossil-hunter, however, can by no means claim as his own these manifestations of a cruder faith, seeing that the so-called survivals were in a seething state of revival in ancient Israel, while in modern Judæa their status is almost completely restored, thanks to Mohammedan toleration of the local saint and his shrine.

Sir James Frazer does not attempt to present a conspectus of the customs prevailing at this lower level of religion, though passing hints would seem to show that such practices as religious prostitution and human sacrifice were especially characteristic of this phase. He does, however, illustrate certain aspects in a very interesting way, arguing, for example, that the sacred groves were probably such remnants of primæval forest as agriculture had spared in deference to the spirit of the wood, whose last resting-place it would be dangerous to disturb. He has also much to say about the attribution of sacredness to stones. He might, however,

with advantage have distinguished between the cult of the natural rock rendered impressive by its shape or situation, and the reverence shown towards the rude stone monuments of a vanished race; while the actual setting up of stones with some religious end in view might have furnished him with a third topic. The examples given chiefly relate to the first of these subjects. But, seeing that the dolmen, the stone circle and the cairn, each distributed through a different region, abounded in Judæa, it would have been instructive to compare the attitude of the immigrant Israelites towards such mysterious relics of the past with that of the European peasant, say, the Breton, whose awe is ever tempting him towards acts of positive worship. Again, here and there stones are still being erected, as by the Khasis and Nagas; and it might have proved worth while to analyse such imperfect information as we have concerning the motives on which the usage rests.

Some of the customs discussed, however, belonged to the established system of religion, and in such a case rank as survivals only in the sense that their grounds were now obscure; though whether these had once been clear must remain somewhat doubtful. Thus the priest who ministered in the sanctuary wore golden bells on the skirts of his robe, and these must sound as he entered and when he came forth lest he should die. The underlying idea is supposed to be that evil influences are scared away by the sound of metal; and such may well have been the reason for the Christian practice of ringing the passing bell, while the value of church bells for averting thunderstorms and the like was widely recognised in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, Sir James Frazer wisely deems it not irrelevant to illustrate the power of bells to touch the heart, so that, as a religion of fear develops into a religion of love, there is not loss, but change and even gain, of meaning in respect of the traditional symbol. He adds: 'A study of the emotional basis of folk-lore has hardly yet been attempted; inquirers have confined their attention almost exclusively to its logical and rational, or, as some might put it, its illogical and irrational elements.' Truly, the bane of the psychological study of human belief is a shallow intellectualism. Reasons of the heart are far more

universal and abiding than reasons of the head; and to them must primarily be referred those astonishing similarities that crop up spontaneously wherever human institutions embody the sentiments of the many rather than the opinions of the few. Thus it is by sympathetic insight rather than by the parade of unreal explanations extorted from bewildered savages and rustics that we may hope to arrive, if at all, at the inwardness of many a vague belief precipitated in custom. Why, for instance, did the Jews object to taking a census? So the savage will not mention the number of his children. So, too, the European shepherd will not number his flock, nor the fisherman his draught of fishes. No explicit reason for the prejudice has ever been formulated by these simple-minded folk. But perhaps we can detect in ourselves a sense of some nemesis attaching to the arrogance that would hold fortune to strict account.

Again, why did the Jews have priests who bore the title of Keepers of the Threshold? Sir James Frazer collects endless instances of rites, mostly rites of avoidance, that show the threshold, not only of a temple, but likewise of the private house or tent, to have been esteemed sacred all the world over. Yet no plain reason for the belief is in evidence anywhere, since the occasional practice of burying the dead under the threshold will hardly account for it. Nevertheless, the emotion we ourselves experience in taking a decisive step, in crossing a Rubicon, may afford us an inkling of the motive that prompts a ceremonial passage across the limit that marks off from the profane outer world the temple precinct or the scarcely less sacred home. At the same time, whereas all men have much the same emotions, their expression varies greatly with the stage of culture reached. Due restraint in the matter of expression does not desiccate the feelings. On the contrary, by transforming a transient excitement into a diffused fervour it perpetuates the mood, enriches it with internal rhythm, promotes its alliance with ideal elements, and in a word fosters that refinement of mind which is the supreme end of culture. Thus Sir James Frazer is justified in treating such phenomena as 'cutting for the dead,' and weeping by way of salutation, as features of low-grade mind and society. As the savage

parallels show—and the same point might be illustrated in many other ways—joy and sorrow and physical pain hardly exist as distinct values for the 'hair-trigger organisation' that can find no solace save in the nervous discharge, immediate, violent, and almost undirected.

There is not room for more than a brief mention of sundry practices here discussed that can scarcely be referred to any religious system, whether past or still prevailing, but must have always tended to be suspect as unofficial and private dealings with the occult. Saul's visit to the Witch of Endor was at best a hole-and-corner affair, and, on a sterner view of the case, might be set down as a thoroughly disreputable transaction with a professional votary of the black art. Rachel's mandrake, on the other hand, or Joseph's divining cup, or David's bundle of life—presumably some sort of strong box in which his soul could be stored out of harm's way—are if not actually nefarious, at any rate related to the self-regarding and, as such, shady side of life. As for the vitality of these so-called dry bones of the past, fertility charms are still on sale in the East End of London, while in the West End a *séance* with a Witch of Endor is doubtless to be obtained for a suitable fee.

To deal, lastly, with the subject of law, it is well known to the student of ancient society that no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between religious and legal institutions. Thus Abraham's covenant involves a method of binding the contracting parties by making them pass between the severed portions of a sacrificial victim. On the strength of various analogies Sir James Frazer suggests that the double sanction is implied—first a conditional curse that a like severing may befall him who breaks his word, and secondly a blessing imparted by the holy relics that strengthens each in his moral purpose. An obscurer question bearing on the same topic is why sacrificial skins should be used ceremonially to render a legal adoption valid, as also to make covenants binding. The custom is at present confined to East Africa; but Sir James Frazer, suggesting possible culture-contact with the Semitic world, tries to discover some similar motive in the wearing of kid skins on hand and neck by Jacob when he ousted his brother from the paternal inheritance. Equally dark is the problem why

a slave who refused the offer of freedom and preferred to stay with his master must undergo the painful rite of having his ear nailed to the sacred doorpost as if so to seal the contract with his blood.

Whatever be the answer to these riddles, it is not likely to be found in some clear idea that once issued from the mind of a prehistoric philosopher. The blood-covenant is rather one of the many crystallisations in custom of a fluid and indeterminate sentiment regarding the power inherent in the sacred—a power at once to heal and to hurt, to fortify the just and punish the unjust. Such a sentiment is no product of a particular age and country, but is as catholic and perennial as the religious consciousness itself. The special institution, on the other hand, has a traceable history; though, being but a variation on a world-wide theme, the odds are all in favour of its constant repetition in forms so much alike as in practice to be indistinguishable. Thus the notion of the two-edged power of the sacred underlies the ordeal, as when at the trial of the adulteress the priest plied her with 'the bitter water that causeth the curse.' Whether there is historical connexion with the African custom of the poison-ordeal it is hard to say; but mankind has found it profitable to experiment in all sorts of ways upon the susceptibility of a guilty conscience to the threat of supernatural justice; and so it is that, even if ordeals be now out of fashion, modern law is content to retain the oath.

In these cases the sacred or supernatural is approached that it may put forth its power in the interest of man. In other cases its negative aspect is prominent, namely, that in which the 'contagion of holiness' is chiefly felt as something to be shunned. The bearing of taboo on the law of homicide is a subject on which much might be said. Sir James Frazer touches on it when discussing the mark of Cain. Was it a disguise to protect him from the avenging power of the kindred blood that he had shed? Again, the homicidal ox must be slain, on the world-wide principle, illustrated by the English law of deodand, that everything associated with the act of bloodshed is infectious with the taint of sin. For the rest, his examples show how, while the impulse is uniform, the thought is mixed. The blood is contagious, yet cries

aloud for vengeance and may be baffled by disguise. The ox is at once an accursed thing and a criminal that must be punished. Wherever we look we find the same 'confusion of categories'—of our categories, that is to say. Why is it taboo to seethe the kid in the mother's milk? Is it lest the heat of the fire by sympathetic transference dry up the udder, or lest injury be done to the goat's maternal feelings? To the primitive logic of the heart it is indifferent which reason be given; nor even in these days of criticism is there any guide of life so sure as the bare intuition of the seemly.

If the bearing of the foregoing remarks has been mainly psychological, it is because it seemed that from this point of view the significance of survivals for the science of man might be apprehended in a new light. A surface-view of history as a welter of chance clashings and collocations shows change and decay everywhere. Seeking deeper, however, we come upon tendencies and motives that are, humanly speaking, everlasting. Yet equal justice must be done to passing and to permanent conditions. Thus, where the psychologist prefers to lay stress on the continuity of the mental life, the sociologist, working at another level of thought, may legitimately choose rather to insist on the relativity of custom, its dependence on the circumstances and convenience of the moment. Two of Sir James Frazer's most elaborate arguments sound this latter note. He deduces from the story of Jacob's displacement of Esau a former law, now surviving as a bare memory, by which the younger son succeeds. This practice of junior right or ultimogeniture—our Borough English—he explains, after a careful study of its distribution, as due to some migratory form of the economic life which causes the children as they grow up to desert the family dwelling, so that the youngest is left last in charge and possession. Again, Jacob's marriage with the daughters of his maternal uncle furnishes the text for what amounts to a complete treatise on this type of matrimonial arrangement, so prevalent in the primitive world. Sir James Frazer argues with great plausibility that it is the result of the exchange of sisters and daughters at a stage of society when this is the easiest and cheapest way of obtaining

a wife. But it is impossible here to do justice to these sociological researches which, for the pure anthropologist, constitute—if it may be said without prejudice to the rest—the cream of the book. Suffice it to say that in this field of speculation the method of survivals is seen at its best.

In conclusion, let what has been said be construed as no grudging testimony to the worth of a work that on forty separate main topics, not to take stock of the infinite number of other matters that are touched on by the way, has brought to bear the searchlight of a vast erudition, illuminating by its means wide tracts of the mental and social history of man. The method employed is that of the traditional anthropology; and, granted the validity of this method, the results cannot but be wholeheartedly approved. If certain apparent limitations of this method have been dwelt on here, it does not follow that for a science of history as distinguished from a philosophy it is altogether practicable or even desirable to transcend them. At any rate, the master of a more fruitful method has not yet appeared in this field. Meanwhile, the ultimate question is how the study of survivals is to serve as a pathway to reality. Just as all symbols are as nothing in themselves, their reality consisting in their meaning, so, it has been suggested, the crude conceptual and institutional forms of an age more inarticulate than ours must be interpreted, not by reference to the shifting shapes themselves, but in the light of the persistent vital purposes that they embody and in their own way express. The truth, if it is to be touched at all, will not consist in the dying letter, but in the spirit that lives on.

R. R. MARETT.

Art. 12.—THE LATE GERMAN COLONIES IN AFRICA.

The German African Empire (1916): *South-West Africa during the German Occupation* (1916): *German East Africa* (1917): *The Cameroons* (1917). By A. F. Calvert. London: Werner Laurie.

German Colonies; A Plea for the Native Races. By Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., Governor of the Gold Coast. London: Murray, 1918.

Native Races and their Rulers. By C. L. Temple, C.M.G., late Lieutenant-Governor, Northern Provinces, Nigeria. Cape Town: Argus Printing Co. London: Way, 1918.

WHEN the German Empire determined, in 1884, to embark on the policy of founding a colonial dominion, its acquisitions were made suddenly and as it were at one blow. There was no gradual foundation of small settlements more or less casually made and spreading almost insensibly, it may almost be said inevitably, as has been the case with the colonial dominions of England and France, but great blocks of country in which no previous settlement had taken place were rapidly placed under German protection. They were called *Schützgebiete* ('Protectorates'), but they were actually annexations, and have ever since been administered as such. In the course of the great war these Protectorates have fallen into the possession of the Allies; German power has crumbled to ruins; and it remains for the Peace Conference to decide on the question of their future government. Speculation as to the exact nature of the decisions which will be arrived at would be inopportune, but it has been officially announced that in any case they will not be returned to Germany, and that in some way or other the Allies must administer them. No one who is acquainted with the history of these regions can seriously advocate their abandonment by European Governments. Anarchy, internecine struggles, and the revival of the slave-trade, would be the inevitable results; the annihilation of peaceful and progressive communities by the more savage and warlike would follow.

Great Britain and France are the countries more immediately interested, and Belgium and Portugal also require full consideration. At the present moment two

of the principal tracts involved, East Africa and South-West Africa, are occupied by the forces of the British Empire. The Cameroons and Togoland are in the joint occupation of Great Britain and France. It is therefore opportune to consider what is the nature of the regions and the peoples with which we have to deal.

With the exception of Togoland, a comparatively small region wedged in between the British Gold Coast Colony and French Dahomey, the German colonies are all situated in the great southern projection of the African continent, one of them, East Africa, with a coast-line on the Indian Ocean between the 4th and 11th parallels of S. Latitude, and the other two, the Cameroons and South-West Africa, with coasts on the Atlantic Ocean, between the parallels 1 and 5 N. Latitude and 18 and 28 S. Latitude, respectively. The last two face towards South America, while East Africa has its outlook towards India and the Eastern Seas. These regions are separated one from the other on the coast by territories already occupied by European nations. On the west coast the vast extent of Portuguese Angola, the French Congo and the Spanish Rio Muñi intervene between South-West Africa and the Cameroons. German East Africa lies between British East Africa and Portuguese Mozambique. In the centre of the Continent the great expanse of the Congo basin separates east from west. The greater part of this forms the Belgian Congo State, and the northern portion is comprised in French Equatorial Africa. Further south Rhodesia extends between German East and South-West Africa. It is clear therefore that no workable arrangement for the government and development of these regions is possible without an agreement between all the nations concerned.

There are, however, certain conditions which render it probable that Great Britain and the Union of South Africa will be more immediately responsible for the administration of the East African and South-West African territories respectively, while France would naturally be regarded as heir to the greater part of the Cameroons, part of which, it will be remembered, was extorted from her by Germany in 1911. It must be remembered also that British missionaries had formed a flourishing settlement at Victoria below the Cameroons

Mountain, of which they were dispossessed by the Germans with little ceremony. A boundary laid down between the Cameroons and Nigeria would probably in that case be drawn somewhat in accordance with the working arrangement now in force. In the same way the Togoland territory would naturally be divided between the British Gold Coast and French Dahomey, very much as it is at present administered.

The relations between all these territories and their neighbours are dependant on their geographical position and on the natural configuration of the southern half of the African continent. This region forms a vast plateau of which the greater part has an elevation of from 3000 to 5000 feet above sea-level. The outer fringes of this plateau rise gradually into considerable mountain ranges, which, towards the eastern and western coasts, drop rapidly to a belt of low-lying country. This outer belt is drained by a number of rivers with swift currents which are of little value for navigation. On the other hand, the great expanse of the interior discharges its waters by a few great rivers, the Nile and the Niger to the north, the Congo in the centre and the Zambezi in the south. These, together with the chain of great lakes, afford great facilities for inland navigation, which has the highest importance for the communications of East Africa with the neighbouring states, British East Africa and Uganda to the north, the Belgian Congo to the west, Rhodesia and Portuguese Mozambique to the south. To the west the Congo and its tributaries form a great system of waterways connected with Lake Tanganyika by the Lukuga River, and linked up by lines of railway which will be referred to below. At present the chief value of this system is for the Congo State, French Equatorial Africa and Portuguese Angola; but the northern tributaries, the Ubangi and the Sanga, are navigable into the heart of the Cameroons back-country. The Niger system is mainly outside the countries under consideration, but its greatest tributary, the Benué, is navigable up to Garua.

German South-West Africa lies entirely outside the region accessible by river navigation. German forethought had indeed provided for access to the Zambezi by stipulating, in the treaty of 1890, for the possession

of a belt of land (known as the Caprivi-strip) stretching between British and Portuguese territory to a point at which that river is navigable; but this access depends for its future value on a railway not yet constructed.

For German East Africa the Zambezi was valuable only through the waters of Lake Nyasa and the Shiré River, which afforded an outlet for the trade of German settlements at the northern end of Lake Nyasa. Lake Tanganyika, a deep and narrow lake with a length of about 400 miles from north to south, is in itself a magnificent waterway, which opened out a great prospect for the development of trade between German East Africa and the Congo State. The struggle for its possession was a very dramatic episode, reflecting the greatest credit on its naval commander and all concerned. Two British armed motor-boats were conveyed first by sea to Cape Town, then by rail to Fungurume in the Congo State, at that time the terminus of the Rhodesian system of railways, and then were hauled by traction engines or oxen or gangs of natives, at one time over a mountain 6400 feet in height, then floated for three weeks through the shallows, rapids, lakes and swamps of the upper Luabala to Kabalo, whence at last they reached the waters of Lake Tanganyika by the Belgian railway to Albertville. The story is one of the most romantic chapters in the history of the war; and hardly less so is that of the three months' naval campaign in which these tiny vessels destroyed German power on the lake. Thus Kigoma, the lake port which forms the terminus of the railway from Dar-es-Salaam (opened for through traffic just before the war), fell into the hands of the Allies, and communication with the Indian Ocean was restored. Further north the great expanse of the Victoria Nyanza forms a splendid field for traffic between the ports of Mwanza and Bukoba on its southern coast and Entebbe and Kisumu in Uganda and British East Africa. Needless to say the full commercial value of these great lakes can only be realised by the development of the railway systems of the territories which surround them.

The German *Mittelafrika* scheme contemplated the absorption of the whole of the Congo State, French Equatorial Africa and Portuguese Angola, also of part at least of Rhodesia and Mozambique, so as to have the

whole of the resources and communications of tropical Africa concentrated in German hands. It now remains for the Allies to see that the results which the Germans hoped to monopolise shall be realised by friendly relations between themselves for the equal benefit of all. All routes from east to west must pass through the Congo State and make use of its railways and its wonderful system of waterways. No region stands to gain more by such a friendly co-operation than the territory which was German East Africa.

East Africa is in every way the most important of the dominions lately held by the Germans in the African Continent. Its central position on the east coast and its communications with the whole system of the Great Lakes give it opportunities for commercial development beyond those of any other African colony, and not only of commercial development but of political and military power. Without the possession of such a starting-point it is doubtful whether the *Mittelafrika* project would have occurred even to the scheming and plotting German mind. It is fortunately no longer necessary to regard it from this point of view, but the same geographical conditions which might have made it an unequalled focus for an aggressive policy may be found still more valuable for peaceful purposes. The configuration of the country has also some peculiar features which give it a great variety of soils and climates, and render it suitable for the production of a corresponding variety of articles.

As has been observed above, it forms a part of the great central plateau which rises rapidly from the strip of level country along the Indian Ocean. This strip is rich in the usual tropical products of Africa; palms of all kinds, rubber and capok, bananas, sugar cane, mangos and papaws abound; everywhere black cotton-soil hints at a future valuable industry. Experiments had been carried out for the purpose of ascertaining the most suitable kinds of cotton; and 35,000 acres were already under cultivation in 1913. The coco-nut palm flourishes in this tract, and copra is an important article of export. This hot moist strip is quite unfit for European settlement. The native population of various races, mainly

of the Bantu stock, appears to have been at one time abundant, but has been greatly reduced in many places, partly through the manner in which war was conducted by the Germans, and still more through their methods of dealing with obstinate tribes for many years before the war, and by the depopulation caused by a system of taxation so designed as to force the able-bodied natives to abandon their villages and enter the labour market. A few years of peace and encouragement will doubtless lead to the repopulation of the abandoned villages, and the extension of such simple cultivation as the people understand.

Above the lowest tract the country rises step by step; and here and there the edge of the plateau forms distinct groups of mountains rising above its general level. Especially is this the case to the north, not far from the boundary of British East Africa. Here the Usambara and Pare ranges lead up to the culminating heights of Africa, the great volcanic group of which Kilimanjaro is the highest peak. Here, at a considerable height above the sea, are many localities suitable for European settlement; and here, in the Usambara Hills and on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, many German planters had settled, most of them managing estates for large commercial firms. The flourishing sisal plantations are a remarkable feature in the region, and the export of this valuable fibre was rapidly becoming one of the most important in the colony. Coffee was also an important crop in this region. Another mountain group on the eastern fringe of the plateau is that of the Uluguru Mountains, lying south-west of Kilosa, a station on the Central Railway. Here too there were many plantations in a fairly healthy climate. There is also a region in the north-west of the colony in the Ruanda province, between Lake Victoria Nyanza and Lake Kivu and the north part of Tanganyika, which is considered to be suitable for European settlement and fitted both for cattle-raising and agriculture. This region touches on its western side the beautiful mountain-girt lake of Kivu, which is about 5000 feet above sea-level. The frontier with the Congo State passes through this lake. In the south also a mountainous region lies along the southern end of Tanganyika and the northern end of Nyasa, forming in the latter case a great wall

of lofty cliffs which extends southwards across the Portuguese boundary. With this exception the plateau in the south of the colony is less elevated than in the north and centre.

There is another feature in the configuration of the country which deserves attention, that is, its intersection by the Great Rift valleys from north to south. The most easterly of these, passing through British East Africa, enters German East Africa between the Kilimanjaro volcanic group and Lake Victoria at the Natron Lake (which, like Lake Magadi on the British side, is known for its valuable soda deposits), and can be traced in a less pronounced form by Lake Rukwa to the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa. The western rift, which is continuous with the Nile valley, is marked by the line of great fresh-water lakes, Albert, Edward and Kivu, through the whole length of Tanganyika, towards which the plateau rapidly falls from the east. Between Lakes Kivu and Edward this Rift is interrupted by the volcanic mass of Mufumbiro (14,633 feet) which divides the waters draining northwards to the Nile from those running southwards through Kivu and Tanganyika to the Congo. The soda deposits of Lake Magadi are already connected with the Uganda Railway by a branch line, and those of Lake Natron will doubtless find an exit by the same route. The two rift valleys converge at the northern end of Lake Nyasa, which follows the line of the valley to the south-west towards the Zambezi.

The existing railways in the colony are the main central line from Dar-es-Salaam to Kigoma, the best port on Lake Tanganyika, a distance of 780 miles, and the Usambara line in the north from Tanga to Moshi on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, 220 miles in length. This line is connected with the branch of the Uganda Railway from Voi to Taveta, which has been extended during the war to Moshi. The central line was taken to Kigoma and not to Ujiji, the port where the old caravan route ended, and where Burton first reached the shores of the lake, as it had become useless for the traffic by water, owing to a fall in the level of the lake. There are certain obvious extensions of this line which General Smuts pointed out in his article in the 'Geographical Journal' in March 1918. Of these the most important

is a branch from the trade-centre at Tabora to Mwanza, the chief port on the south shore of Lake Victoria, which is in communication by steamer with Entebbe in Uganda. A line from this point to Mahagi on Lake Albert would bring it into connexion with the proposed line from Stanleyville on the Congo to Mahagi.

The other most obvious connexion is with the Rhodesian system of railways, which has been pushed northwards into the Congo State, and reaches the banks of the Upper Congo at Bukama. There is also a Belgian line from Kabalo on the Congo to Albertville on Lake Tanganyika (165 miles), following the course of the Lukuga, which is not suitable for navigation. Albertville is nearly opposite to Kigoma; and this railway provides a good line of communication with the combined rail and river system of the Congo. But direct rail communication with the Rhodesian system from Elizabethville or some such point, via Abercorn and Bismarckburg to Tabora, would fill up a gap in the long-talked-of Cape to Cairo Railway. It would also afford direct railway communication from east to west across the Continent of Africa, the Rhodesian system furnishing the connexion between the East African lines and the Portuguese line from Lobito Bay to Kambove. Another way of reaching the Atlantic from Rhodesia would be a line into South-West Africa from the Victoria Falls, following the 'Caprivi-strip,' which the Germans secured for the purpose of obtaining access to the Zambezi, and connecting with the system of lines in South-West Africa by the Otavi line, thus reaching the port of Walfish Bay. South-West Africa, since its conquest by General Botha's forces, has already been brought into connexion with the railway system of the Cape Colony by the extension from Prieska via Upington to Kalkfontein, the southern terminus of the German system of railways; and this line to the Zambezi would give it direct communications with the Congo State and East Africa.

It will be seen then that East Africa is the starting-point of routes across Africa leading to three ports on the Atlantic, viz. Boma on the Congo Estuary, Lobito Bay in Angola, and Walfish Bay in South-West Africa, while it also lies on the main north and south line between Egypt and South Africa. Rhodes's great Cape

to Cairo scheme could not be realised, as the occupation by Germany of the whole eastern coast of Lake Tanganyika, and of the territory north of it up to the Congo frontier, effectually barred the way; and Germany was able even to prevent the cession which Belgium was willing to make of a strip of land sufficient for a railway from Lake Tanganyika into Uganda territory. Yet our Government surrendered the Caprivi-strip, giving South-West Africa access to the Zambezi, without insisting, as they well might have done, on an equivalent strip north of Lake Tanganyika. Now these obstacles have been swept away, and we may yet see this great project carried out.

South-West Africa is a territory of a very different nature. It lies for the most part outside the truly tropical regions, has a dry climate with few permanent streams, and in the uplands is suitable for European settlement. There is little land fit for agriculture, but a large area suitable for cattle-raising, and the mineral wealth is considerable. In the north, near the southern frontier of Portuguese Angola, where the climate is hot and moist, is the territory known as Amboland, which is in the possession of the Ovambos, a powerful and warlike tribe who may now look forward to a chance of peaceful development under reasonable conditions. How far the Hereros, and the Hottentot tribes which shared their fate, have recovered from the savage treatment they received in 1903-5 it is not easy to say, but possibly the remnants of these tribes will be able to resume their former pastoral life, and will gradually increase again in numbers. In the pasture-lands of the central parts of the colony a number of European and South African colonists will probably settle, who will depend mainly on cattle-raising. It is not impossible that some useful help may be obtained from the remnants of the Herero tribe in this business, which is their hereditary pursuit. This should be possible with good treatment and patient management. In any case the grass-producing plains of Damaraland, the former home of this unfortunate race, are destined to be the seat of a great pastoral industry. It was estimated in 1897 that the Herero herds contained 125,000 head of cattle.

North of Damaraland and south of the hot Amboland levels lies the province of Grootfontein, which has a greater rainfall than other parts of the colony and is in many places well suited for agriculture, and also affords good grazing. Grapes, apples and oranges thrive here; and perhaps this district is more suitable for settlers than any other district in South-West Africa. Regarded as a whole, the colony must be considered as mainly pastoral. There is likely before many years to be a large supply of beef available for exportation; and the good communications with Europe should make it a formidable rival to South America.

There is also good reason for believing that the country is well supplied with minerals, although no great development in this direction has as yet taken place. The most important industries are the copper and tin mines of the Otavi district in Grootfontein, of which the Tsumeb mine, served by a branch railway from Otavi, has been the most successful. Diamonds were first discovered in 1908 on or near the parched coast between Angra Pequena (Luderitz Bay) and the mouth of the Orange River. They are small but of good quality; and the discoveries up to date are valued at 1,400,000*l*. A line of railway has been constructed along the coast from Angra Pequena to the principal field at Bogenfels, so called by the Germans from a natural arch. Perhaps ultimately the principal value of the diamond fields will turn out to be the attraction of colonists to South-West Africa.

The railway system of South-West Africa was more fully developed than in the other German colonies. In part this extended system was strategical in its origin, and was intended to facilitate a concentration of troops on the frontier of the Cape Colony. This applies specially to the southern extension to Kalkfontein, since connected, as already noted, with the Cape railways. The northern, or Otavi, line was designed as an outlet to the mines, but was also doubtless intended as a first step to a line along the Caprivi-strip to the Zambezi. Thus the future inland communications of South-West Africa will be to the south with the Cape and to the north with Rhodesia. Along the eastern frontier, for a great part of the distance between these two extremes, stretches

the forbidding Kalahari Desert. Nevertheless other projects of railways are in existence, one of which would actually traverse the Kalahari. The object proposed is to give Johannesburg a direct connexion with a good Atlantic port by a line from Mafeking across the desert to Gobabis and thence through the north-west of the colony to Port Alexander in the south of Portuguese Angola. It would cross the Kunene River at the Cataracts, where the Portuguese boundary leaves that river to follow the parallel of latitude to the Okavango. From this point it is proposed that one line should follow the Caprivi-strip to the Victoria Falls and another communicate with the Katanga district, coming into competition with the Portuguese line from Lobito Bay. Another line south of the Kalahari Desert from the neighbourhood of Kimberley via Kuruman to Keetmanshoop, which would compete with the line already opened from Prieska to Kalkfontein, has also been suggested.

How far it is likely that these lines or any of them will be constructed it is impossible to say. Probably Political considerations will have a considerable influence on the decision. It is clear that there will be greater readiness to sink capital in such enterprises if South-West Africa becomes an integral part of the Union of South Africa than if it is held merely by the somewhat precarious title of a mandate from a League of Nations. But if the sovereignty is practically vested in the British Empire, as represented by the Union, all projects will receive fair consideration; and there is every hope of a prosperous future and a good opening for European colonisation in these districts.

The countries which were included in the German colonies bordering on the Gulf of Guinea differ very strikingly in their climate and physical conditions from South-West Africa. The largest and most important is that of the Cameroons (called by the Germans Kamerun), the coast-line of which lies just north of the Equator and has an abundant rainfall with a very hot and moist climate, unfit for European colonisation except in a few spots at a high elevation. The most important of these is the German capital, Buea, on the slopes of the Cameroons Mountain, a volcanic mass nearly 14,000 feet in

height, where moderately good conditions are found. On the sea at the foot of the mountains lies the settlement of Victoria on Ambas Bay, where a flourishing British Mission under the Baptist Church had existed long before the German occupation. This was very unceremoniously dealt with by the Germans; and, in any settlement which may be made in the future, the coast southwards from Nigeria up to and including this settlement should be under British rule. From this point southwards the coast, including the harbour of Duala, should no doubt come under French management. Indeed an arrangement was come to after the joint British and French occupation, which was completed in 1916, by which the greater part of the colony, that in the southern and eastern part, was left to the French, while a narrow strip on the north-west, extending from the sea to Lake Chad, has been administered as an extension of British Nigeria. This would give a much better frontier than the unscientific boundary which, following a geographical line laid down without much regard to the natural configuration of the country, was previously followed. The navigable head-waters of the Benue, the great tributary of the Niger, were cut off from their natural centre at Yola; and the old kingdom of Bornu, of which the greater part is in Northern Nigeria, was cut in two. These defects have been remedied by the present provisional boundary, which should form the basis of any future settlement.

With this exception, however, the natural destiny of the Cameroons is to be united with French Equatorial Africa. Its water communications are with the great Congo River and its main affluent, the Ubangi; and a large portion of it was under French rule before 1911, when it was very unwillingly surrendered to Germany, which extended its territory to the Congo and the Ubangi. The southern portion includes vast tropical forests where wild rubber is collected; and it was here that German methods of government, with their cruel and ruthless treatment of the primitive forest tribes, were most fully exhibited. Under the present arrangement the existing railways would be included in the French sphere. These are two, one leading northwards from Bonaberi on the Bay of Duala into the mountainous

country (stopping short of Jang, which is a healthy place at a high altitude within the British boundary), and the other from Duala crossing the Zanaga River at Edea into the central part of the colony.

The portions of the Cameroons included within the British region are comparatively small but of great value. The Rio del Rey district on the coast is a natural extension of the Old Calabar district, one of the oldest of our establishments in West Africa; it is rich in tropical products, especially palm-oil and palm-kernels. The northern tracts form part of the system of Mohammedan Emirates prevailing in North Nigeria, which has been maintained by our Government with a minimum of interference with internal administration. A large part of this territory is good grazing country; and its products are very valuable for supplying the coast districts, where the prevalence of the tsetse-fly prevents the existence of cattle. The ancient kingdom of Adamawa, also a good grazing district, is included in the French territory; while the Sultanate of Bornu will now be consolidated on the British side of the border.

The shores of Lake Chad will now be entirely in the hands of the British and French, its principal feeder, the Shari, a navigable river, being in the French zone. The importance of this region, and of the consolidation of the administration of the Mohammedan regions round Lake Chad in English and French hands, must be insisted on. One of the favourite schemes of the Germans was to obtain influence over the Muslim population of the Lake Chad district, by opening out the old trade route across the Sahara to Tripoli. This rested on the anticipation of a victory over the Allies which would establish German and Turkish power on the Mediterranean. As this hope has been frustrated, it seems possible that some such project may be realised with good results under better auspices; and it certainly seems that such an opening should not be neglected if competent opinion on the spot regards it with favour.

The future of the remaining German colony, Togoland, also rests with Britain and France, who jointly occupied it in the early days of the war. Here, as in the Cameroons, a division of the country for administrative purposes was made between the occupying

Powers. Togoland is a narrow block interposed between the British Gold Coast and French Dahomey. It is divided by a belt of hills into a western and an eastern section. The western part, the smaller of the two, borders on the Gold Coast; and most of it is included in the basin of the Volta River, which, for part of its course, was the boundary between the British and German Governments, its upper and lower reaches being entirely in Gold Coast territory. Its principal tributary in Togoland is the river Oti, which, in the northern part of its course, forms the eastern boundary of the Mohammedan kingdom of Dagomba, with its capital at Yendi. This kingdom, which was divided between the two countries, is now under British administration; and the change was welcomed by the people and their chief. Similar demonstrations took place at Kpandu on the lower Volta, the chief of which had been deported by the Germans and imprisoned at Duala in the Cameroons. He was restored to his home after the British occupation; and Sir Hugh Clifford, the Governor of the Gold Coast, has described his joyful reception by his people on his return.

The British boundary extends to the coast, including Lome, the capital, and the railway which runs thence to the hill-pass of Misahöhe. The French portion east of the hills takes in all the basin of the Monu River and the greater part of the coast, as well as the whole of the most northerly portion of the country. The greater part of the railway running north from Lome to Atakpame is included in French territory. The southern part of Togoland is inhabited by the Ewe-speaking negro tribes, who have attained a fair level of civilisation and occupy numerous populous villages. They are good cultivators and, under a sympathetic system of government, will attain to a prosperous and satisfied existence. The perpetual exactions and regulations of the Germans had the effect, however, of driving them from their homes; and there was a constant drift of the population into the Gold Coast Colony, and a corresponding decrease in Togoland. Since the occupation by the Allied forces cultivation has increased 33 per cent.

The northern part of Togoland is a pastoral country, drier and healthier than the coast, and is inhabited

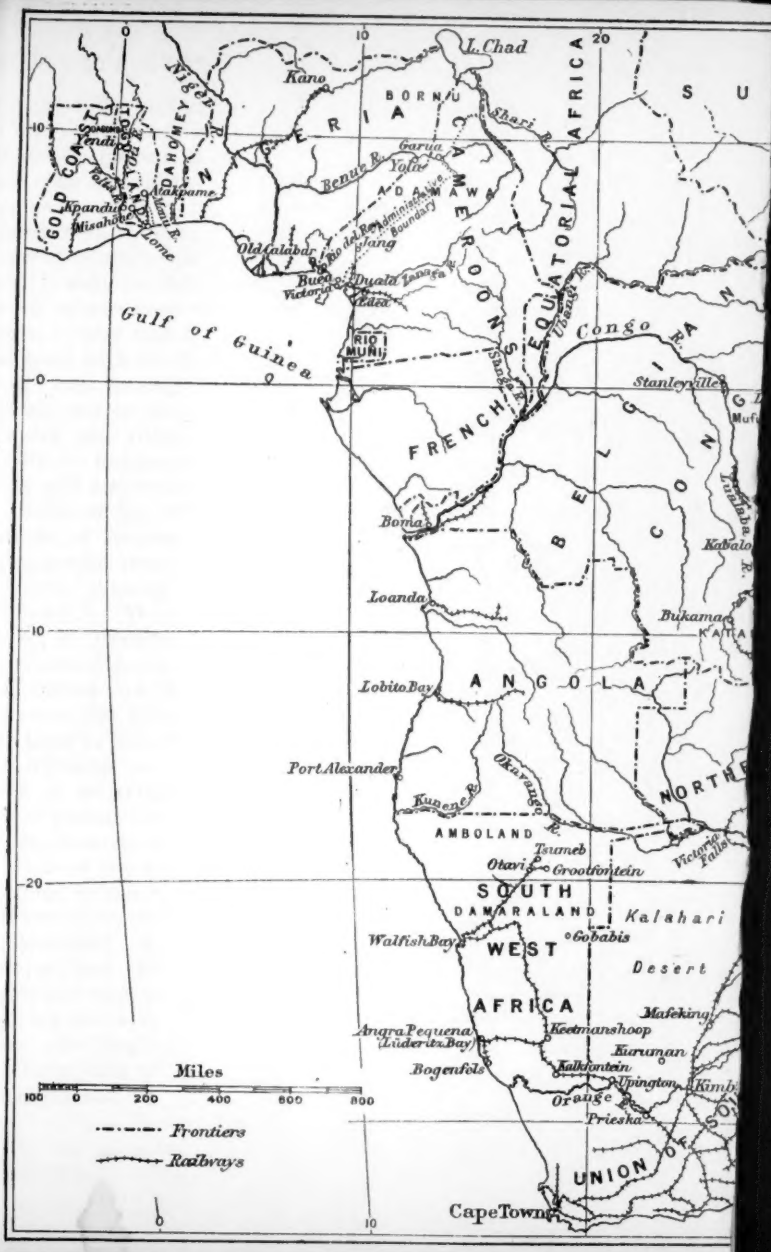
mainly by Mohammedan tribes more or less affected by Arab influence. Here also iron is found, and an indigenous system of smelting has been evolved.

Such are the African lands which have been conquered during the war, East Africa by British forces, with a strong contingent from the Union of South Africa and the co-operation of Belgian and Portuguese troops, South-West Africa by the forces of the South African Union, the Cameroons and Togoland by British and French forces mainly drawn from the native races of Africa. These regions have now to be disposed of, and the manner of their disposal is before the Peace Conference. If the Peace Treaty is at last successfully negotiated, and some form of government, whether mandatory or other, is devised for the late colonies of Germany, we may be permitted to assume that the British Empire will be answerable for the government or management of the two large colonies, East and South-West Africa, and we may also take it for granted that South-West Africa will form part of the Union of South Africa, and that it will ultimately have a large white population. But East Africa and those parts of the Cameroons and Togoland which we may have to administer can never support any large population of this character; and it is here that the questions of the management of the Native Races will be of the greatest importance. To develop these countries British capital must and will flow in. The building and working of railways and roads, river navigation, mines, trading centres of every sort, will all call for labour; and this at once brings the thorny question of the supply and management of native labour into prominence. This will demand immediate solution, and it is clear that we must avoid the methods which found favour under German rule. There must be no forcing of the small cultivators by excessive taxation or other means, to abandon their holdings and villages for labour either on public works or for private firms, but we must rely on fair dealing in the open market to attract the unattached population, who will come willingly enough if the terms are inviting.

The whole method of government also will have to

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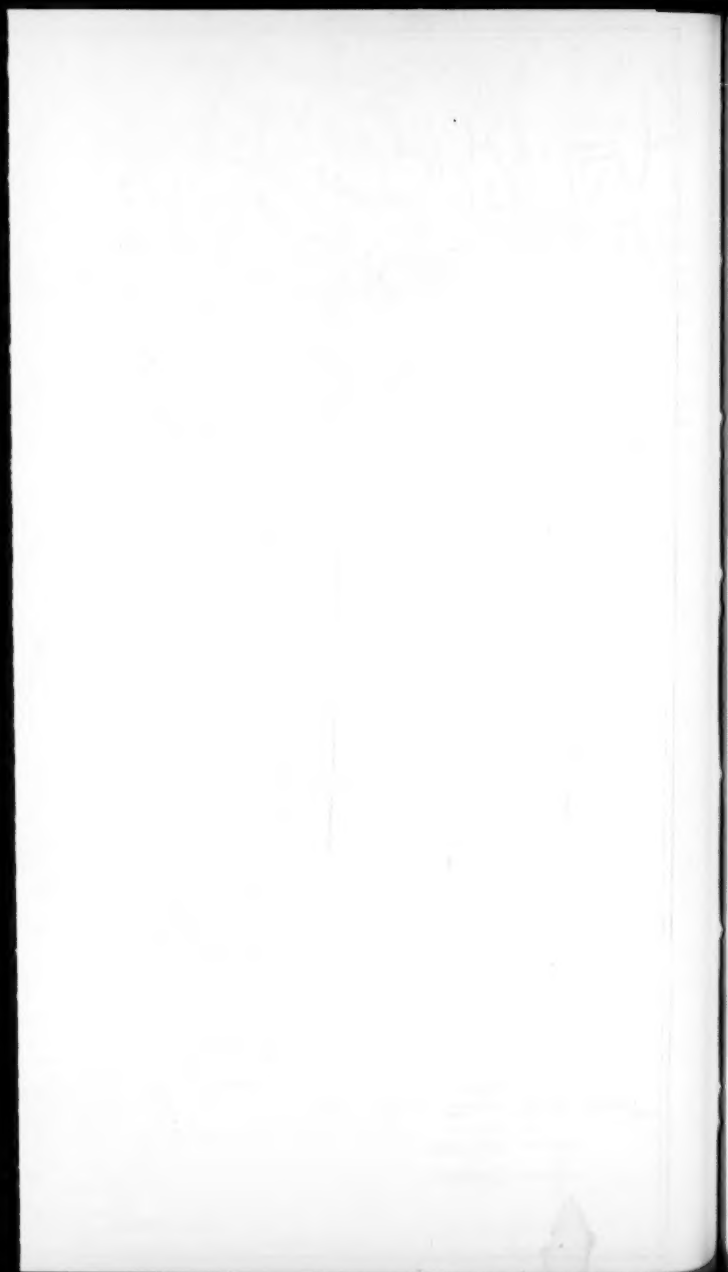


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be carefully and cautiously dealt with, but the success already attained in the older British Colonies shows that our system may be relied on to provide the men and the measures which may be found necessary. It seems to have been proved in practice that native institutions and modes of government should be maintained, wherever they still exist and show signs of stability, and it may be found possible to revive them in many cases where they have only recently been suppressed. Each colony will have its own problems, which can only be dealt with on the spot by men of tact and experience. Such men, having been found—as they will be found—should not be hampered by multifarious instructions or details, but should be given a free hand within wide limits, to devise means for dealing with the difficulties they will encounter.

Some of the officers who are or have recently been in charge of tropical dependencies have already recorded opinions on many of the points which will have to be decided. Among these may be mentioned Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, Mr C. L. Temple, C.M.G., lately Lieutenant-Governor of Northern Nigeria, and Sir Sydney Olivier, K.C.M.G. Sir H. Clifford and Mr Temple have recently expressed their views in two little books of great interest mentioned at the head of this article; * and Sir S. Olivier has recorded his opinions in the 'Contemporary Review' (January 1919) in an article entitled 'The Repartition of Africa.' These authorities are in agreement on the main questions of importance, and especially on the labour question.

One of the most illuminating instances of what can be done by native labour, without European supervision but with Government encouragement, is the extraordinary development of cocoa-cultivation in the Gold Coast Colony; and this may be contrasted with the gradual decay and depopulation which was going on in the neighbouring and very similar regions of Togoland at the same time. Sir Hugh Clifford may well point to the successful results of this policy as an argument for the British as distinguished from the German system. Another

* Cf. also the article by Mr Temple in this Review, No. 457, for October 1918.

instance, mentioned by Mr Temple, is the great production of ground-nuts by the small cultivators near Kano in Northern Nigeria. Similar results may be hoped for wherever conditions are favourable, although equally rapid progress is not of course to be expected in all cases. The social conditions in the north of the Cameroons are similar to those in Northern Nigeria, and in Togoland to those of the Gold Coast Colony. In all these cases, the moist forest-covered lands near the coast have much in common; and the drier pastoral lands in the interior, with a mainly Mohammedan population, also present strong resemblances, so that experience gained in our older colonies may often be utilised in the new acquisitions. East Africa has been more disorganised by the war and its population more demoralised. Here the difficulties to be encountered will doubtless be much greater; and time and patience will be required before satisfactory results are attained.

Other important questions, which it is only possible to allude to here, are those connected with finance and trade. What is the best method of raising a revenue, direct or indirect taxation; what is the best machinery for granting mining and other concessions; how best to attract capital to the new districts, and so forth—these are subjects of such wide scope and affect so many interests that they demand separate discussion; and no decision on such questions should be arrived at in a hurry. Our country has taken the lead among the nations of the world in settling such questions in a fair and liberal spirit, and has been the first to show due regard to the interests of primitive and undeveloped races; and it is entitled to demand that it should now be endowed with adequate authority to deal with all these questions by its own methods and in accordance with its own traditions.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

Art. 13.—THE MYSTICISM OF PLOTINUS.

1. *The Philosophy of Plotinus: The Gifford Lectures at St Andrews, 1915-1918.* By W. R. Inge, D.D. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1918.
2. *Plotinus: The Ethical Treatises.* Being the Treatises of the First Ennead with Porphyry's Life. Translated from the Greek by Stephen Mackenna. London: Lee Warner, 1917.
3. *The Neoplatonists: A Study in the History of Hellenism.* By Thomas Whittaker. 2nd Ed. Cambridge: The University Press, 1918.
4. *The Problem of Evil in Plotinus.* By B. A. G. Fuller. Cambridge: The University Press, 1912.

And other works.

IN spite of his enormous importance for the history of Christian philosophy, Plotinus is still one of the least known and least understood among the great thinkers of the ancient world. The extreme difficulty of his style, which Porphyry well described as 'dense with thought, and more lavish of ideas than words,' together with the natural laziness of man, may perhaps account for this neglect. He was by choice a thinker, contemplative, and teacher, not a writer. Therefore the Enneads, which represent merely notes of lectures, hastily and unwillingly written down during the last fifteen years of his life, offer few inducements to hurried readers. The fact that he was a 'mystic' has been held a further excuse for failure to understand the more cryptic passages of his works; though as a matter of fact these are the precipitations of a singularly clear and logical intellect, and will yield all their secrets to a sympathetic and industrious attention. His few translators have often been content to leave difficult phrases unelucidated, or surrounded by a haze of suggestive words; and though his splendid and poetic rhapsodies are quoted again and again, even those later mystics who are most indebted to him show few signs of first-hand study and comprehension of his system as a whole. Thanks to this same obscurity, and the richness, intricacy and suggestive quality of his thought, most of his interpreters have tended to do for him that which he did for his master

Plato: they have rehandled him in the interests of their own religion or philosophy. Of this, the Cambridge Platonists are the most notorious example; but the same inclination is seen in modern scholars. Thus Baron von Hügel seeks to introduce a dualism between his mysticism and his metaphysics, whilst Mr Fuller rationalises his most spiritual conceptions. Even the brilliant exposition of the Dean of St Paul's is not wholly exempt from this criticism. A comparison of his analysis with that of Mr Whittaker makes plain the part which temperament has played in both works.

Plotinus himself would probably have been astonished by this charge of obscurity. His teaching had, by declaration, two aims. The first was the definitely religious aim of bringing men to a knowledge of Divine reality; for he had the missionary ardour inseparable from the saintly type. The second was the faithful interpretation of Platonic philosophy, especially the doctrines of Plato, and of his own immediate master, the unknown Alexandrian Ammonius. His system is therefore a synthesis of practical spirituality and formal philosophy, and will only be grasped by those who keep this twofold character in mind. There must always seem to be a conflict between any closed and self-consistent metaphysical system and the freedom and richness of the spiritual life; but, since few metaphysicians are mystics, and few mystics are able to take metaphysics more seriously than the soldier takes the lectures of the armchair strategist, these two readings of reality are seldom brought into direct opposition. In Plotinus we have an almost unique example of the philosopher who is also a practical mystic; and, consequently, of a mind that cannot be satisfied with anything less than an intellectual system which finds room for the most profound experiences of the spirit. In this peculiarity some scholars have found his principal merit; others a source of weakness. The position of his critics has been excellently stated by Baron von Hügel in 'Eternal Life.' He finds in the *Enneads* a 'ceaseless conflict' between 'the formal principles of the philosopher' and 'the experiences of a profoundly religious soul.' The philosophy issues in an utterly transcendent Godhead without qualities, activity, or being; the mysticism issues in ecstatic union, actual

contact, with a God, 'the atmosphere and home of souls,' whose richness is the sum of all affirmations. Yet, as a matter of fact, this disharmony is only apparent. It is resolved when we understand the formal character of the Plotinian dialectic, which is a 'way,' a stepping-stone, the reduction to terms of reason of some aspects of a reality beyond reason's grasp. The discrepancy is like that which exists between map and landscape. Plotinus, constantly passing over from argument to vision, speaks sometimes the language of geography, sometimes that of adventure; yet both, within their spheres, are true. The Neoplatonic *via negativa* always implies an unexpressed because ineffable affirmation. Therefore its Absolute, of which reason can predicate no qualities, may yet be the 'flower of all beauty,' as apprehended by the contemplative soul.

Since the doctrine of Ammonius is unknown to us, we have no means of gauging the extent to which Plotinus depends on him; but probably we shall not be far wrong if we attribute to his influence the peculiar sense of reality, the deep spiritual inwardness, colour and life, with which his great pupil invests the dogmas of Platonism. The main elements of the Plotinian philosophy, however, are undoubtedly Platonic. The Divine Triad, the precession of spirit and its return to its origin, the 'unreal' world of sense, the universal soul, the 'real' or intelligible world of the Ideas—these and other ingredients of his system are a part of the common stock of Platonism. His originality and his attraction consist in the use which he makes of them, the light and atmosphere with which they are clothed. That which is truly his own is the living vision which creates from these formulæ a vivid world, both actual and poetic, answering with fresh revelations of reality the widening demands and apprehensions of the human soul. This spiritual world is not arrived at merely by a dialectic process. It is the world of his own intense experience from which he speaks to us, using his texts, as Christian mystics have often used the Bible, to support doctrines inspired by his personal vision of truth. In spite of his passion for exactitude, the sharpness and detail of his universe, he is thrown back, again and again, on the methods of symbol and poetry. We must always be

ready to look past his formal words to the felt reality which he is struggling to impart; a reality which is beyond the grasp of reason, and can only be apprehended by the faculty which he calls spiritual intuition. To this we owe the richness and suppleness of his system, the absence of water-tight compartments, the intimate relation with life. While many philosophers have spent their powers on proving the necessary existence of an unglimped universe which shall satisfy the cravings of the mind, Plotinus spent his in making a map, based on his own adventures in 'that country which is no mere vision, but a home'; and his apparently rigid contours and gradients are attempts to tell at least the characteristics of a living land.

Though the *Enneads* are a storehouse of profound and subtle thought, the main principles on which their philosophy is based are simple, and can be expressed briefly. All things, according to Plotinus, have come forth from the Absolute Godhead, or One, and only fulfil their destiny when they return to their origin. With the rest of the Neoplatonists, he conceives of the Universe as an emanation, eternally poured forth from this One, and diminishing in reality and splendour the further it is removed from its source. The general position is exactly given by Dante in the opening of the 'Paradiso'—

'La gloria di Colui che tutto muove,
Per l'universo penetra, e risplende
In una parte più, e meno altrove.'

The Divine nature is a trinity; but not, as in Christian theology, of co-equal persons. Its three descending degrees, or hypostases, are the One or the Good—a term which implies perfection but carries no ethical implications—the Divine Mind, Spirit, or *Nous*, and the Soul or Life of the World. Nothing is real which does not participate in one or other of these principles. Though the first two hypostases are roughly parallel to the Godhead and Logos-Christ of Christian Platonism, this superficial resemblance must not be pressed. Fatherhood cannot justly be ascribed to the One; nor is the second Principle a person, in any sense in which orthodox

Christianity has understood that ambiguous term. Further, the triadic series does not involve a succession either in time, or order of generation, but only in value. The worlds of spirit and of soul are co-eternal with the Absolute, the inevitable and unceasing expressions of its creative activity. The Perfect manifests as Mind or Spirit; and this *is* the world of being. Mind or Spirit manifests as Life or Soul; and this *is* the reality of the world of becoming. The lower orders are contained in the higher, which are everywhere present, though each 'remains in its own place.'

While every image of the universe is deceptive, since its true nature is beyond our apprehension, Plotinus invites us to picture the Triad, as Dante did, by concentric circles through which radiate the energy and splendour of the 'flower of all beauty,' the Transcendent One (I, 8. 2). 'The One is not a Being, but the Source of being, which is its first offspring. The One is perfect, that is, it has nothing, seeks nothing, needs nothing; but as we may say it overflows, and this overflowing is creative' (v, 1. 2). Yet this eternal creative action 'beyond spirit, sense, and life' involves no self-loss. It is the welling forth of an unquenchable spring, the eternal fountain of life.

As Christian Platonists described the Son as the self-expression of the Father, so Plotinus describes his second Divine Principle as the eternal irradiation of the Absolute—*il ciel ch   pi  della sua luce prende*. This principle he calls *Nous*; a word carrying many shades of meaning, which the older commentators generally rendered as Divine Mind, or Intelligible Principle. Dean Inge has shown good reason for translating it as 'Spirit,' thus bringing the language of Plotinus into line with the many later mystics who derive from him. As a matter of fact, *Nous* contains both meanings. It is more spiritual than mind, more intellectual than spirit, in the sense in which that word is commonly employed. Those medi eval theologians who made a mystical identification between the Hebrew conception of Eternal Wisdom* and the Second Person of the Trinity, came very near the Plotinian concept of *Nous*, which is at

* Cf. Proverbs viii, 22; Ecclesiasticus xxiv, 5-10.

once Intelligence and the intelligible sphere, Spirit and the spiritual universe: the home of reality, and object of religious and poetic intuition. It is in one aspect the father and companion of the soul, in another that 'Yonder' to which he so often refers—Blake's 'eternal world of imagination,' Ruysbroeck's 'clear-shining world between ourselves and God.'

'. . . e questo cielo non ha altro dove
Che la mente divina,'

says Dante, once more condensing the whole Neoplatonic vision in one vivid phrase.

The rich and suggestive conception of the Second Principle, as at once King and Creator of the world of life, and also itself the 'archetypal' world of true values, is the central fact of the Plotinian philosophy. Its apprehension, he says, is beyond ordinary human reason—which is fitted for correspondence with the world of life or soul—but is the function of spiritual intuition, 'a faculty which all possess though few use.' Such communion with the world of supernal reality is possible, because man is potentially an inhabitant of it; the 'apex' or celestial aspect of his soul is domiciled there, and 'never leaves the Divine Mind' (VI, 7. 5). Man is, in fact, intermediary between the two Plotinian worlds of Spirit and Soul, and participates in both.

As Spirit is the outbirth and manifestation of the One, so Soul, or Life—the third member of the Triad—is the manifestation or matter of Spirit, and forms the link between the physical and the supersensual worlds. Spirit is 'at once its Father and ever-present Companion' (V, 1. 3). Soul is a term covering the whole vital essence (*a*) of the world and (*b*) of the individual. It has two aspects. The celestial soul aspires toward, and is in communion with, the spiritual order; the natural soul 'hangs down' and inspires the physical order, thereby conferring on it a measure of reality. We are not, however, to understand by Soul merely the aggregate of individuals. *Psyche* is the divine and eternal life of the created universe, comprehending its infinite variety in a unity embracing every object in the sense-known scheme, and making it 'like one animal' (IV, 4. 32). The whole creation, says Plotinus, in one of his great poetic

passages, is 'awake and alive at every point.' Each thing has its own peculiar life in the All; though we, because our senses cannot discern the life within wood and stone, deny that life. 'Their living is in secret, but they live' (iv, 4. 36). By this conception, which is elaborated from the doctrine of the world-soul in the 'Timæus,' Neoplatonism bridges the gap between appearance and reality, and also solves the paradox of multitude in unity. Soul, which has in its highest manifestations many of the characters of Spirit, is the eternal upholder of the world of change.

'Things have a beginning, and perish when the soul that leads the chorus-dance of life departs; but the soul itself is eternal and cannot suffer change. . . . What the soul is, and what its power, will be more manifestly, more splendidly evident, if we think how its counsel comprehends and conducts the heavens; how it communicates itself to all this vast bulk and ensouls it through all its extension, so that every fragment lives by the soul entire, which is present everywhere like the Father which begat it' (v, 1. 2).

Soul, then, which is in one sense the reality of the world of becoming, and immanent therein, is also a denizen of eternity, in virtue of its continuity with, and direct dependence on, *Nous*. An unbroken series of ascending values unites the world of living effort with the One. It is this which makes the system of Plotinus a philosophy of infinite adventure and infinite hope.

Soul is the lowest of the Divine hypostases. Below it in the scale of values is the material universe to which its lower activities give form, slumbering in the rocks and dreaming in the plants. In plants, says Plotinus, 'the more rebellious and self-willed phase of soul is expressed'—a doctrine which will find an echo in many a gardener's heart. The sensible beauty of the world is the signature of soul, and points to something 'Yonder'; for through loveliness it participates in the world of spiritual values, and we in apprehending beauty turn away from matter to *Nous* (I, 8.4). Matter, as such, has no reality except as the stuff from which soul weaves up

* So the Logos-Christ of the 'Sayings,' 'Raise the stone and thou shalt find me: cleave the wood, and there am I.'

its outward vesture. Deprived of soul, it is in itself, he says, 'not-being' and 'no-thing'; 'its very nature is one long want' (I, 8. 5). As a picture is the crude and partial condensation of an artist's dream—all that he can force his recalcitrant material to express—so the physical world is but a fragmentary manifestation of the great and vivid universe of soul, and the body the smallest part of the real man. When we grasp this, we see how great is the sum of possibilities opened to us by the Cosmos; how easily the country 'Yonder' can find room for all the visions and intuitions of artists, poets and saints.

The Plotinian doctrine of man, which became in due course the classical doctrine of Christian mysticism, is the logical outcome of this cosmology. Man, like the rest of Creation, has come forth from God, and will only find happiness and full life when his true being is reunited, first with the Divine Mind, and ultimately with the One. 'Our quest is of an End, and not of Ends. That only can be chosen which is ultimate and noblest, that which calls to the tenderest longings of the soul' (I, 4. 6). As the descending stages of reality are three, so the stages of the ascent are three. They are called in the *Enneads* purification—the work of reason—which marks the transference of interest from sense to soul; enlightenment—the work of spiritual intuition—which lifts life into communion with the eternal world of spirit; and ecstasy, that profound transfiguration of consciousness whereby the 'spirit in love' achieves union with the One. These stages are familiar to all students of Christian asceticism, as the codified 'mystic way' of purgation, illumination and union. But it is important to remember that in Plotinus this 'way' is not—as it sometimes becomes in mediæval writers—a rigid series of mutually exclusive psychological states, separated by water-tight bulkheads. It is rather a diagram by which he seeks to describe one undivided movement of life; a prolonged effort and adventure, which has for its object a deeper and deeper penetration into reality, the achievement of a true scale of values, in order that the real proportions of existence may be grasped. In this movement nothing is left behind, but everything is carried

up into a higher synthesis, as the latent possibilities of humanity are gradually realised and man grows up into eternal life.

'Since your soul is so exalted a power, so divine, be confident that in virtue of its possession you are close to God. Begin therefore with the help of this principle to make your way to Him. You have not far to go; there is not much between. Lay hold of that which is more divine than this god-like thing; lay hold of that apex of the soul which borders on the Supreme (*Nous*) from which the soul immediately derives' (v, i, 3).

All practical mysticism is at bottom a process of transcendence; and this process, in different temperaments, assumes different forms. Since Plotinus united in his own person the characteristics of the metaphysician, the poet and the saint, he tends to present it under three aspects: as the logical outcome of a reasoned philosophy, as a moral purification which strips us of all unreality, and as a progressive initiation into beauty. In the high place which he gives to the category of beauty, which is to him one of the three final attributes of God, the strongly poetic character of his vision of reality becomes evident. He anticipates Hegel in regarding natural beauty as the sensuous manifestation of spirit and the signature of the world-soul, 'fragment as it were of the Primal Beauty, making beautiful to the fulness of their capacity whatsoever it grasps and moulds' (I, 6. 6); and those lovers, artists and musicians who can apprehend it have already made the first step towards the inner vision of the One. Therefore the harsh other-worldliness which made some mediæval ascetics turn from visible loveliness as a snare, would have seemed blasphemy to him.* On the contrary, he gives a religious sanction and a philosophic explanation to those special experiences and apprehensions of artists, poets and so-called 'nature-mystics'—known to many normal persons in moments of exaltation—when

'The world is charged with the grandeur of God
It will flame out, like shining from shook foil.'

* Cf. his great imitator St Augustine, 'There is no health in those who find fault with any part of thy creation' (Conf., VII, 14).

In such hours, he would say, we perceive through matter the inhabiting *Psyche*, and by it reach out to communion with *Nous*. He would have understood Blake's claim to see the universe as 'a world of imagination and vision,' and accepted Erigena's great saying, 'Every visible and invisible creature is a theophany or appearance of God.'*

Thus the whole mystic ascent can be conceived as a movement through visible beauty to its invisible source, and thence to 'the Beauty supreme, the absolute and primal, which fashions its lovers to beauty and makes them also worthy of love' (I, 6. 7). Yet this progress is not so much a change in our consciousness of the world and of ourselves, as a shifting of the centre of our being from sense to soul, from soul to spirit. A point of special interest in the *Enneads* is the extremely modern view which Plotinus takes of consciousness. He was the first great thinker to draw attention to the distinction between our mental processes and our own awareness of them; perceiving and stating the truth, well known to all creative workers, that such consciousness of our own activities is a weakness, not a strength, and that we are only at the top of our powers when all awareness of self is abolished and we 'lose ourselves in our work' (v, 8. 11). This view, which has an obvious bearing on the doctrine of ecstasy, is probably closely connected with his own mystical experience; for the success of contemplation, in all its degrees, largely depends on the extent to which self-consciousness is transcended, and the whole attention is concentrated, as Ruysbroeck says, on 'a simple staring and seeing.'

But whether the way be conceived under æsthetic or ascetic symbols, Plotinus is at one with all the mystics in declaring that the driving force which urges the soul along the pathway to reality is love. This inspires its labour, supports its stern purifications, and gives it at last 'the only eye that sees the mighty Beauty.' Love means for him active desire — 'the longing for conjunction and rest.' All shades of spiritual and poetic

* The description of the 'Many-coloured Land' and 'Soul of the World' in 'The Candle of Vision' by A. E. (1918) prove how close is the correspondence between the experiences of this living mystic and the world-map of Neoplatonism; and help us to realise the extent to which personal vision of this type may have influenced the Plotinian scheme.

passion, the graded meanings of admiration, enthusiasm and worship, are included in it. It is 'the true magic of the universe'; an attribute of *Nous*, and an earnest of real life. 'The fullest life is the fullest love, and the love comes from the celestial light which streams forth from the Absolute One' (VI, 7. 23). The suggestion of the Dean of St Paul's, that it differs in character from the fervid emotion which he finds so displeasing in many Christian saints, is hardly borne out by the texts. It is true that the impersonal nature of the Neoplatonic One gives no apparent scope to the intimate feeling which plays so large a part in Christian devotion. But the reality and warmth of the true mystical passion for the Absolute—its complete independence of anthropomorphic conceptions—is strikingly demonstrated by those glowing passages in which Plotinus allows his overpowering emotion, 'that veritable love, that sharp desire,' to speak, and appeals to the experience of those fellow mystics who have attained the vision of 'the splendour yonder, and felt the burning of the flame of love for that which is there to know; the passion of the lover resting on the bosom of his love' (VI, 9. 4). This passion is the instrument of that ecstasy in which he taught that those men who have 'wrought themselves into harmony with the Supreme,' may briefly experience the vision of the ineffable One. In it the spirit is burned to a white heat, which fuses to one single state the highest activities of feeling, thought and will. Though the doctrine of ecstasy appears in Philo, and could reasonably be deduced from Plato himself, its treatment by Plotinus, the intense actuality and poetic fervour of its presentation, are the obvious results of such personal experiences as Porphyry describes to us. This ecstasy, according to him—and here he is supported by the majority of later mystics—is not a merely passive state, nor does it result in a barren satisfaction. When, withdrawing from all lesser interests, the soul passes beyond all contingency 'through virtue to the Divine Mind, through wisdom to the Supreme,' and poises itself upon God in a single state of rapt attention, it receives as a reward of its effort, not only the beatific vision of the Perfect, but also an accession of vitality. At this moment, says Plotinus, it 'has another life,' and 'knows

that the Supplier of true life is present.' The mystic, or 'sage,' is not a spiritual freak, he is a man who has grown up to the full stature of humanity and united himself with that source of life which is 'present everywhere, yet absent except only to those prepared to receive it' (VI, 9. 4). Therefore he alone can be trusted to be fully active; since his action is not a mere restless striving after the discordant objects of a scattered attention, but an ordered movement based on the contemplation of reality.

'We always move round the One, but we do not always fix our gaze upon it; we are like a choir of singers who stand round the conductor, but do not always sing in time because their attention is diverted to some external object. When they look at the conductor, they sing well, and are really with him. So we always move round the One. If we did not, we should be dissolved and no longer exist. But we do not always look at the One. When we do, we attain the end of our existence, and our rest; we no longer sing out of tune, but form a divine chorus round the One' (VI, 9. 7).

Yet in spite of the majesty and purity of his vision, the devil's advocate is not without material for an attack upon Plotinus. The charge brought by St Augustine against 'the books of the Platonists,' as a whole—and by these he meant chiefly the *Enneads*—is well known.* He found in their philosophy no response to the needs of the struggling and the imperfect. In its complete escape from the standing religious snare of anthropomorphism, Neoplatonism also escaped from the grasp of humanity. It left man everything to do for himself. For the Christian philosophy of divine incarnation, dramatised in history, and expressed in the phrase 'God so loved the world,' the Neoplatonist substitutes, 'So the world loves God.' 'No one there,' says Augustine of their school, 'hearkens to Him who calleth, Come unto Me all ye that labour.' The One is the transcendent source and the magnet of the Universe, the object and satisfaction of spiritual passion, but not the lover, helper or saviour of the soul. It 'needs nothing, desires nothing.' The quality of mercy cannot be ascribed to

* Aug., Conf., VII, 20, 21.

it. As a term, it is as attractive and impersonal as a mountain peak; and the mystic attaining it has something of the aristocratic self-satisfaction of the successful mountaineer. The Christian and Sufi mystics, even when most deeply influenced by Neoplatonism, have always felt the incompleteness of this conception. They see the soul's achievement of reality as the result of two movements, one human and one divine—a 'mutual attraction.' 'God needs me as much as I need Him,' said Meister Eckhart. 'Our natural will,' says Julian of Norwich, 'is to have God, and the good-will of God is to have us.' 'I was given,' says Angela of Foligno, 'a deep insight into the humility of God, towards man and all other things.' 'The love of God,' says Ruysbroeck, 'is an outpouring and an indrawing tide.' These statements undoubtedly represent a normal element in spiritual experience; that sense of a response, a self-giving on the part of its transcendent object which—whatever explanation we may choose to give of it—is integral to a developed mysticism. Neoplatonism, considered as a religious philosophy, is impoverished by its failure to recognise and find a place for this.

Moreover, the so-called social side of religion, so grossly exaggerated by the amateur theologians of the present day, certainly receives less than justice from Plotinus, for whom the 'political virtues' are merely preparatory to the spiritual life, and that spiritual life an exclusive system of self-culture, having as its final stage a 'flight of the Alone to the Alone.' Moral goodness is a form of beauty, and therefore 'real'; but there is no suggestion that goodness as such is dearer to the Absolute than beauty or truth. The problem of evil is looked at, but left unsolved—a weakness which he shares with most mystical philosophers. Since the aim of the 'wise man' is the transcendence of the sense-world, there is no adequate recognition of those sins, wrongs and sufferings with which that world is charged. Though effort and self-denial have their part in the Plotinian scheme, that transfiguration of pain which was the greatest achievement of the gospel is beyond the scope of his philosophy. Its remedy for failure and grief is not humble consecration, but lofty withdrawal. Even the selfless sorrow of a father or a patriot is to be

transcended. Though, in this, his practice was doubtless better than his doctrine—for we know that he was a good citizen, a beloved teacher, and a loyal friend—he speaks in a tone of icy contempt of those who allow themselves to be disturbed by the world's woe.

'If the man that has attained felicity meets some turn of fortune that he would not have chosen, there is not the slightest lessening of his happiness for that. If there were, his felicity would be veering or falling from day to day; *the death of a child would bring him down*, or the loss of some trivial possession. . . . How can he take any great account of the vacillations of power, or the ruin of his fatherland? Verily, if he thought any such event a great disaster, or any disaster at all, he must be of a strange way of thinking' (I, 4. 7).

Such a sentence, however we look at it, goes far to justify the description of the Neoplatonic saint as 'a self-sufficient sage,' and explains the question with which Augustine turned from the Enneads—'When would those books have taught me charity?'

In spite, however, of this fundamental difference in tone, the wider our reading the more clearly we must realise the extent to which the Christian mystics are conscious or unconscious disciples of Plotinus. That unity of witness which is one of the most impressive facts in the history of mysticism, may reasonably be regarded as evidence of the reality of that world of spiritual values which contemplatives persistently describe. But this same unity of witness depends closely, on its literary side, on the fact that these contemplatives, however widely separated by time and formal creed, so constantly explain their adventures to other men by means of conceptions drawn from the Plotinian scheme, which has proved itself able to rationalise and find room for the deepest spiritual intuitions of the race. It could do this because a great mystic made it. Hence we find it implied, even where unexpressed, in many of the master-pieces of later mysticism—both Christian and Mohammedan—and some knowledge of it is a necessary clue to the full understanding of these writings. The Sufi, Attar, describing the soul's arrival in 'the Valley of Unity where it contemplates the naked Godhead,' is

equally its debtor with the protestant mystic William Law, declaring that 'everything in temporal nature is descended out of that which is eternal, and stands as a palpable visible outbirth of it; so that, when we know how to separate the grossness, death, and darkness of time from it, we find what it is in its eternal state.'

Yet few of the theologians and contemplatives who owe most to Plotinus had any first-hand acquaintance with the *Enneads*. Their influence reached the mediæval world by two main channels. The first line of descent is through the works of Victorinus and St Augustine; the second through Proclus and—so far as the Christian Church is concerned—his mysterious disciple Dionysius the Areopagite. These lines meet in the '*Divina Commedia*,' which may be regarded as the supreme poetic flower of Neoplatonism.

The dramatic life-history and exuberant self-revelations of St Augustine have obscured the debt which Christian philosophy owes to that less assertive convert and theologian, Victorinus. Yet, since Augustinian Neoplatonism is derived from his writings and translations, Victorinus is the real link between Plotinus and the mystics of the Latin Church. A celebrated man of letters and a professor of rhetoric, he had been formed by Neoplatonic philosophy, and is said to have been the author of that Latin translation of the *Enneads*, which was chief among those 'books of the Platonists' that provided St Augustine's stepping-stones to faith. The stir caused by Augustine's conversion, so vividly described in the '*Confessions*,' was justified; for the event was crucial in the history of Western Christianity. After it, he set himself to the creation of a Neoplatonic theology, in which the Plotinian triad and doctrine of the soul's precession and return to the One, appear almost undisguised. 'Son' and 'Spirit' are to him two aspects of *Nous*; and through him the characteristic Plotinian notion of Deity as 'ever active and ever at rest,' which meets us again and again in the writings of the mystics, entered Catholic theology.

It is plain that Augustine, in his first Christian period, was deeply indebted to Plotinus, whom he knew through Victorinus and frequently quotes by name, calling him 'one of those more excellent philosophers'

whose doctrine of the soul is in harmony with the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel. When he came to write the 'Confessions,' the glamour of the Platonic vision had begun to fade, and he was able to deal in a critical spirit with his own brief Plotinian experience of 'that which is.'* Nevertheless, none can understand that book without some knowledge of the *Enneads*, from which all its finest passages are derived and in more than one instance closely imitated.† In the tracts composed soon after his conversion—e.g. the 'De Quantitate Animæ,' written about A.D. 388—the influence of Plotinus is dominant; and the ecstatic vision of the One is definitely put forward as the summit of Christian experience. From this time onwards, the main outlines of mystical theology were more or less fixed; and, since Augustine was one of the most widely read and deeply revered of the Fathers, with an authority hardly inferior to that of Scripture itself, its Neoplatonic colour was never lost. Wherever Christian mysticism passes from the emotional and empirical to the philosophic, this colour is clearly seen, and the concepts of Plotinus, more or less disguised, reappear, even in those mediæval writers who had no direct acquaintance with Greek philosophy. The immense popularity of the so-called Dionysian writings, which derive much of their doctrine through Proclus from the *Enneads*, helped to establish yet more firmly the Neoplatonic character of Christian mysticism. Through them came the conceptions of successive spiritual spheres or emanations intervening between the Absolute and the physical world, and of ecstatic union with the transcendent and unconditioned Godhead as the term of religious experience. These entered Western thought in the ninth century, through Erigena's Latin translation of Dionysius. Erigena follows Plotinus closely in teaching that the Absolute Godhead is 'beyond being' and therefore transcendent to the Trinity of Persons—a doctrine of doubtful orthodoxy, which was of great importance in the later development of mysticism.

* Aug., Conf., vii, 17.

† Especially a large part of Bk. vii, and the celebrated 10th chapter of Bk. viii.

A still closer approximation to the thought, and especially to the psychology of Plotinus, is found in Richard of St Victor, perhaps the greatest mystical theologian, certainly one of the most influential writers, of the early Middle Ages. In the 13th and 14th centuries his works, which are now little read, circulated through Western Europe, and shaped the developing mysticism of England, Germany and Flanders. Dante, who calls him one 'who in contemplation was more than man,' places his radiant soul among those of the great teachers in the Heaven of the Sun (Par., x, 131). Abandoning alike the many worlds of Dionysius and the crude dualism of popular religion, Richard taught that three spheres are open to human contemplation: *sensibilia*, *intelligibilia* and *intellectibilia*—a series closely analogous to the three worlds of Plotinus. He said that three kinds of contemplation on man's part corresponded with these worlds. These are *mentis dilatatio*, a widening of the soul's vision, which yet remains within the natural order; *mentis sublevatio*, an uplifting of the illuminated mind to the apprehension of 'things above itself' (or, as Neoplatonists would say, intelligibles); and finally, *mentis alienatio*, or ecstasy, in which the soul gazes on truth in its naked simplicity. Then, 'elevated above itself and rapt in ecstasy, it beholds things in the Divine Light at which all human reason succumbs.' This 'divine light' is the *lumen gloriæ*—the spiritual or intelligible light, which transforms the soul and makes it capable of beholding God—a conception which became a commonplace of mediæval theology, was adopted by all the great mystical schools, and plays an important part in the 'Paradiso.' It can be shown to derive directly through Augustine from the Enneads,* which are the ultimate source of much else in Richard's works. From the 13th century onwards, these works take their place with Augustine and Dionysius as main sources from which the disguised Neoplatonism of the later mediæval mystics was derived. Its penetrating influence, however, was

* v, 3, 8. Compare Aug., Conf., vii, 10: 'I entered and beheld with the mysterious eye of my soul . . . the Light that never changes, above the eye of my soul, above my intelligence. . . . He who knows the truth knows that Light, and he who knows that Light knows Eternity.'

not confined to the mystical schools. Even Aquinas, who accepts and expounds in the 'Summa' (I. q. 12, a. 5) the doctrine of the *lumen gloriæ*, is considerably indebted to Plotinus in several other particulars; though he cites him inaccurately, and does not seem to have known him at first hand. In a remarkable passage, which afterwards influenced one of the finest rhapsodies of Ruysbroeck, he has actually 'lifted' the most celebrated phrase in the Sixth Ennead, and adapted it to the distinctively Christian and non-Platonic view of divine union, as a 'mutual act' of God and the soul. 'In a wonderful and unspeakable manner,' says St Thomas of the soul in this place, 'she both seizes and is seized upon, devours and is herself devoured, embraces and is violently embraced; and by the knot of love she unites herself with God, and *is with Him as the Alone with the Alone.*'

It is in a later and less orthodox son of St Dominic, the formidable and adventurous thinker Eckhart, that the influence of Plotinus on the mediæval mind is best seen, passing through him to Suso, Tauler, Ruysbroeck, and other mystics of the 14th century. Eckhart's philosophy still provides one of the most suggestive glosses upon the Enneads. He made that distinction between the Absolute Godhead and God, which was almost inevitable for a Christian thinker trying to find a place in theology for the Neoplatonic One. The Godhead, he says, is 'a non-God, a non-Spirit, a non-person, a non-image, a sheer pure One.' The Son, in whom 'the Father becomes conscious of Himself,' combines the attributes of the Logos-Christ with those of the *Nous*. In Him are the archetypes of all created things. There is thus an emanation from the Godhead, through the Son, into creation. The soul's destiny is exactly that conceived by Plotinus; it must ascend to the spiritual world, and through it to its origin, the One, 'flowing back into the bottom of the bottomless fountain from which it flowed forth.' In Tauler and Suso, and especially in the great Flemish contemplative, Ruysbroeck, these ideas—though considerably modified by their inferior speculative ability and more ardent spirit of Christian devotion—are still strongly felt; and, since their works and those of their disciples nourished many succeeding generations of

contemplatives, through them the mystical side of the Neoplatonic tradition continued to bear fruit in the human soul. Yet the very closeness with which they often follow those parts of the Neoplatonic doctrine which appeal to them, makes it possible for us to measure the distance which separates their minds, their tone and temper, from that of Plotinus and his school. The calm, the austerity of thought, the emphasis on beauty, the clear cool light of the Intelligible World have departed. These are men of the Middle Age. Their work is full of passionate effort; it is centred on the ideas of sacrifice and of pain. Their religion is coloured by the sharp Christian consciousness of sin, and by the difficulty—never squarely faced—of reconciling devotion to a personal Redeemer with the mystical passion for the Absolute. That the philosophy of the *Enneads* was able to enter a world so remote from its spirit, and come to terms with an attitude of mind in many respects opposed to that of its creator, is an oblique proof of the authenticity of its claim to interpret the spiritual experiences of man.

EVELYN UNDERHILL.

Art. 14.—MODERN BEE-KEEPING.

1. *A Modern Bee-Farm.* By S. Simmins. 2nd ed. The Author, 1914.
 2. *The British Bee-keeper's Guide-Book.* By T. W. Cowan. 22nd ed. British Bee Journal Office, 1915.
 3. *The Practical Bee-Guide.* By J. G. Digges. 2nd ed. Irish Bee Journal Office, 1910.
 4. *The Life of the Bee.* By M. Maeterlinck. Allen, 1906.
 5. *The Lore of the Honey Bee.* By Tickner Edwardes. 3rd ed. Methuen, 1911.
 6. *Bee-keeping Simplified; and Bee-keeping in War-time.* By W. Herrod-Hempsall. Simpkin, 1915, 1918.
- And other works.

BRITAIN was called 'The Isle of Honey' by old Welsh bards, but it has been estimated that the amount of honey now made is, owing to lack of bees, only one-tenth of what it might be. In 1914 we imported honey to the value of 37,662*l.* In 1915 the figures were 92,679*l.*; and in 1916, 187,292*l.* For the month of June, 1914, alone, the figures were 4902*l.*; for the same month in 1916 they were 35,887*l.* In August, 1916, they rose to 54,740*l.* For 1917 they were 825,737*l.*, and for 1918 no less than 2,702,734*l.*

But these figures, astonishing as they are, are nothing to what might be attained at home if bees and bee-keepers were available. As much as 3*s.* 6*d.* a pound has been asked for good English section honey. This is an abnormal price, but, if we take 2*s.* a pound as the average price of 'run' honey, probably four million pounds' worth could be harvested in a single season. There is hardly any limit to the quantity of honey that can be gathered by a single hive, if modern scientific methods are applied to it. Last year we heard of 200 lbs. from one hive, and 300 lbs. from another. In 1901 Mr J. L. Gandy obtained an average of 407 lbs. per hive from 75 hives. His annual profits for six years were 800 per cent. Mr S. Simmins records 50 lbs. in seven days from one hive. A hive of Cyprian bees has been credited with 1000 lbs. in one season. Yet in face of these facts the straw skep still has its votaries!

It is commonly asserted in handbooks that swarms

in their first season must not be expected to gather more than enough for their own needs. In 1916 the writer obtained a large swarm on June 19, and fed it for a fortnight with sugar syrup, with the result that it not only filled ten brood-frames with comb and brood, but yielded forty-two perfect pound sections as well. This illustrates the value of artificial feeding, which is one of the main secrets of successful apiculture.

In America large bee-farms are the rule; with us they are the exception. But any one who has zeal, a little leisure, and a love of bees, may add something to his income and much to his pleasure by keeping two or three hives. Bee-keeping is an ideal hobby for wounded soldiers, ministers of religion, brain-workers of all kinds, and boys with a taste for natural history. Many ladies handle bees fearlessly and well. Day-schools have taken up bee-keeping with success; and we see no reason why some of the great public schools should not encourage it. There are always some keen entomologists among their boys; and in most cases some corner of the grounds, where cricket balls do not intrude, could be spared for a dozen hives or more. During the holidays a local expert, or perhaps one of the staff of servants, could be put in charge of them. Many boys acquire at school a remarkably thorough knowledge of entomology or ornithology, but we have never yet met a public schoolboy who knew anything of the wonders of the bee-world, or was able to manipulate a hive. We venture to say that the knowledge to be gained thus would be an education in itself. 'Bees do nothing invariably'; and the greatest bee-master is always learning. No other creature, wild or tame, is at once so interesting and so easily studied.

But there is a more pressing reason why bee-keeping should be encouraged, and that is the need for home-grown sugar or its equivalent. Honey is not merely an efficient substitute for sugar, even in tea, coffee, and jam, but a much better food. Being pre-digested by the bee, it is at once assimilated by the human organism. It is used in numerous medicines, and, eaten with bread, forms a much more sustaining meal than butter or jam.

Bees may be kept almost anywhere. They do not usually fly more than a mile for their food, but have been known to go as many as four. M. Maeterlinck has

kept them in Paris. An attic with an open window can serve for an apiary. Noise is no obstacle; bees can be kept successfully on a railway embankment. But it is scarcely necessary to add that, the greater and more accessible the food-supply, the larger will be the intake of honey. In America this is fully realised. The large bee-farmers there grow lucerne, melilot, buckwheat and other crops, primarily for their nectar, and only secondarily as fodder. In England, on the other hand, we still depend chiefly on orchards, miscellaneous flowers, and the small white clover that grows by the wayside and in pastures. There is room for much enterprise and initiative here. Mr Simmins, in his stimulating book, 'A Modern Bee-Farm,' shows how a small farm may be worked in connexion with an apiary, where the crops, cows, poultry, and bees are made mutually supporting. That bees increase the yield of an orchard by fertilising the blossom is well known to most fruit-growers, but too few take advantage of the fact. Mr C. H. Hooper, in a lecture delivered to the Linnean Society in 1912, records that, out of nearly 3000 insects observed by him visiting fruit-blossoms, 88 per cent. were hive bees. Mr T. W. Cowan, the well-known bee-expert and co-editor of the 'Bee-keepers' Record,' wrote thus in 1909 of an orchard in California, which bore so badly that it had been condemned to be cut down:

'It was spring, and the trees were a magnificent sight, being in full bloom. As we were going round I noticed that there were no bees of any sort on the blossoms, and therefore asked my friend how far was the nearest apiary. He told me it was at Newcastle, five miles from where we were. I said those bees were no use to him at all, and advised him to give the trees another season's trial, and to get some bees at once, and, if then the trees did not bear fruit, he could replant in the autumn. He was an intelligent man and took my advice, and obtained two colonies of bees, which he placed in the centre of his orchard. Of course, by that time, more than half the blossom was over, but for all that he got a fair amount of fruit, the trees nearest the hives having the most on them. This was the first fruit my friend had obtained from his trees; and he was so well pleased that, instead of destroying the trees, he got more bees. On visiting him the next year he took me out to see his orchard, which was a perfect sight,

and showed the bees' work; for the trees were so laden with fruit that, although they had been thinned, the branches had to be supported by strong wooden props.'

Many people who have the time and means are undoubtedly deterred from keeping bees by one or both of two great drawbacks. The first is the prevalence of *Microsporidiosis*, or Isle of Wight disease; the second is the fact that bees are armed with stings. The Isle of Wight disease has been reported from every county in England and Wales; and many neighbourhoods are entirely denuded of bees. But, if healthy bees can be obtained, how may they be handled safely, and what is the best remedy for stings? There are a few people whose scent is offensive to bees; and there are a few, a very few, to whom bee-stings are really dangerous. Again, there are a few who seem to possess some magnetic power over bees, and again a few for whom stings have no terrors. Gilbert White tells of an idiot boy who overturned hives and robbed them with impunity. But in most cases the safe handling of bees is an art only to be learned by study and practice.

An apprenticeship in a large apiary is the best training; but, failing this, the novice can usually watch some local bee-keeper at work, and learn to assist him. At the same time he must study a good handbook, for his tutor may be utterly out of date, or careless and happy-go-lucky. Two such books stand out as the best of their kind; they are those of Mr T. W. Cowan and the Rev. J. G. Digges. For cottage bee-keepers, Mr Herrod-Hempsall, who used to share with Mr Cowan the editorship of the 'Bee-keepers' Record,' has produced an excellent sixpenny handbook entitled 'Bee-keeping Simplified,' and more recently a similar work, 'Bee-keeping in War-time,' price ninepence.

When he has mastered such books as these, the student may go on to larger and more scientific works, such as those of Cheshire, Langstroth, and Root. But it is essential that he should learn to handle bees with confidence, and without assistance. Gloves should scarcely ever be worn; and, when a bee settles on the hand, the hand should be kept still. To show fight is to court defeat. Sudden movements must be avoided, and

everything be done with studied calmness and deliberation.

The advice given by Butler, a 17th-century bee-master, in his 'Feminine Monarchie' is by no means out of date, if we except the cup of beer :

'If thou wilt have the favour of thy bees, that they sting thee not, thou must avoid such things as offend them. Thou must not be unchaste or uncleanly ; for impurity and sluttishness (themselves being most chaste and neat) they utterly abhor. Thou must not come among them smelling of sweat, or having a stinking breath, caused either through eating of leeks, onion, garlick, and the like, or by any other means ; the noisomeness of which is corrected with a cup of beer. Thou must not be given to surfeiting or drunkenness ; thou must not come puffing and blowing unto them, neither hastily stir among them, nor violently defend thyself when they seem to threaten thee ; but, softly moving thy hand before thy face, gently put them by ; and lastly thou must be no stranger unto them. In a word, thou must be chaste, cleanly, sweet, sober, quiet, and familiar : so will they love thee, and know thee from all other.'

If Butler's excellent counsels are followed, bees may often be examined without any previous precautions, especially in spring and early summer. But there are two invaluable aids, one of which should always be at hand ; these are smoke and carbolic acid. The object of their use is not to stupefy the bees, but to frighten them into gorging themselves with honey. They suspect some impending calamity, and immediately plunge their heads into the honey cells, in order to take in emergency rations, as a swarm always does before issuing. A swarm carries a three or four days' supply, and swarming bees seldom sting. Smoke is the easier and safer to apply, especially if a 'smoker' be used—a pipe or cigarette often suffices—but a carbolised cloth is usually preferred by experienced hands. At agricultural shows an expert may be seen in the bee-tent offering a handful of bees to any lady who will accept it, and promising a shilling for every sting that she receives. The explanation of this apparent wizardry is very simple : the bees have been 'subdued,' and are not in the mood to sting ; nor can they easily do so when their honey-sacs are full.

But it is always wiser to wear a veil, which should be

securely tucked in under the coat collar, and not hanging loose as in the illustration in Mr. Cowan's guide-book, or an angry bee will surely find her way under it. Armlets fitting tight round the wrists may be worn if desired, and ladies can use skirt protectors with elastic bands round the ankles. But it is far better to be stung occasionally, and thus gradually inoculated with the poison. Old bee-keepers take no notice of a few stings, for they produce no effect on them. At first the irritation and swelling may be troublesome, but there are many ways of alleviating it. The first thing to do is to pull out the sting, which the bee usually, though not invariably, leaves in the wound. Then the puncture should at once be dressed with some antidote. Many are recommended, including honey, but one of the best we know is the nicotine from the stem of a foul pipe. At the worst bee-stings do no harm; at the best they may cure rheumatism.

Bees vary much in temper. Carniolans have earned a high reputation for gentleness, and Syrians for ferocity; but any bees will grow savage if clumsily handled, or repeatedly disturbed in wet weather, or at the end of the season. When they become unmanageable, the best thing to do is to close the hive and beat a hasty retreat, hoping for a better opportunity. Pursuing bees may be shaken off by plunging the head into a thick bush.

The common English black bee (*apis mellifica*) still has its supporters in this country, but in America the Italian or Ligurian bee, with its elegant yellow-ringed abdomen, is almost universally preferred. It was introduced into this country in 1859. It is more prolific than the black bee, easier to handle, and a better honey-gatherer. About its disease-resisting properties opinions differ, but there is good evidence that in Italian-black hybrids lies the best hope of overcoming the Isle of Wight disease. Kent bee-keepers have started a re-stocking scheme with these hybrids, and are able to report well-deserved success. Last year they established two hundred new colonies, entirely by voluntary work. Similar efforts are being made in Staffordshire, and we hope many other counties will follow the lead given by Kent. The method is to cultivate a selected strain of hybrids, and form 'nuclei,' with queens specially reared for the purpose. Queen-rearing is itself an important branch of

modern apiculture; and re-queening with a vigorous young queen is one of the most effective means of combating disease.

All syrup and candy should be medicated with some disinfectant. In 1916 the Government set aside fifty tons of sugar for bees, and issued bacteriolised candy. The Board of Agriculture have been experimenting for many years, and have issued a free pamphlet on the disease; but none of the official remedies is infallible. Dioxogen has been used in some cases with success, but at present we believe the best chance is to try Izal. Immunity has been claimed for Dutch bees, but in vain. Probably no strain of bees is entirely immune; but, given strong healthy strains, with young queens, and all food medicated as far as possible, there is no reason why bee-keeping should not be restored to its condition at the beginning of this century, before *Microsporidiosis* made its appearance in the Isle of Wight. This disease is caused by the presence of a protozoan called *Nosema Apis* in the chyle stomach of the bee. Articles on it by Dr Shipley, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, were published in 'Country Life,' May 20, 1911, and July 19, 1913. The symptoms, in his words, are

'first a disinclination of the bees to work, and a habit of flying about aimlessly; then they begin to lose their power of flight, and are unable to travel more than a few yards without alighting, till finally they can only crawl, and may be seen creeping up grass-stems or other upright objects. After that the end comes quickly, and they die.'

Where diseased bees have large supplies of their own honey, it is probably safer to remove this, and replace it with medicated sugar syrup. There is no evidence that pure cane-sugar is less wholesome for bees than honey, which can safely be used as human food, even when infected. We have for some months past been using honey from infected bees. If the bees die, the hive should be thoroughly disinfected, preferably by being scorched with a painter's lamp, and the frames and quilts burnt. All dead bees should be collected and burnt, and the ground well dug and limed. If these simple precautions had been observed from the first, the course of the disease might have been arrested.

But unhappily many bee-keepers take the idle and selfish course of leaving everything to chance. Mr Simmins claims that, where his directions are carefully followed, no hive need be lost. We quote the following from his book 'A Modern Bee Farm' (1914, p. 445):

'(1) The substitution of a young queen of a vigorous prolific variety, during the active season, will turn a dwindling stock into a prosperous, highly profitable colony every time.

'(2) Any plan of division that, during the active season, separates the older and more seriously affected workers from those slightly or not affected, from the younger bees and the brood still to hatch, will always form a basis of cure.

'(3) Feeding any affected stock rapidly with suitably medicated food will subdue the worst case in twelve or fourteen days, changing the queen meantime.

'(4) Where the earlier symptoms of the disease are noticed—with no hairless, dark or bloated bees—the trouble is instantly checked by spraying with warm medicated water.'

Mr Simmins attaches great importance to the right strain of bee, not the pure English black, and also to sufficient ventilation, a point often overlooked. He mentions a case where bees were actually wintered successfully with no bottoms to the hives. All good hives are now made with adjustable entrances and ventilators. This alone gives them an immense advantage over straw skeps. Wood, moreover, and not straw, is the natural home of the bee, which in a wild state loves hollow trees. Whatever type of hive the beginner selects, he should keep to the same one, for it is a great convenience to be able to interchange the internal fittings of different hives. The W.B.C. hive, named after the inventor, the late Mr William Broughton Carr, is a double-walled hive, and holds the field as first favourite in this country to-day. Any one with a knowledge of carpentry can make his own hives, by copying a good model.

The standard size of frame is 14 inches long by 8½ deep. Larger frames are commonly used in America, and we have seen them in the apiary of a French *abbé*. They give more room in the brood-chamber, which may easily become overcrowded, for a good queen at her best will lay up to 3500 eggs a day. Shallower frames are used in the 'supers' for extracted honey, and section-crates, containing twenty-one sections each, for section

honey. The frames should be fitted with full sheets of artificial comb-foundation securely wired in. This invention saves an immense amount of labour and honey, for the bees must consume at least $6\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of honey to produce 1 lb. of wax, which is exuded in little plates or scales from the under-side of the abdomen. It also limits the number of drone cells. Over the brood-chamber, in which the young bees are reared, many bee-keepers think it essential to place a queen-excluder before they add the 'supers' or honey-chambers. This consists of a sheet of perforated zinc, through which worker-bees can pass, but the queen with her larger body cannot. She is thus prevented from laying eggs in the supers and rendering the honey unsaleable. But there is no doubt that this ingenious device is a great hindrance to the free passage of the bees, who are often most reluctant to begin work above it. If the bee-keeper takes care to supply the queen with sufficient space below, removing the honey when necessary, she will not as a rule ascend into the supers to lay.

Section honey is preferred by some people for the table, but run honey is more profitable to produce, for the combs, instead of being eaten with the honey, are returned to the hive and filled again. A honey-extractor, costing about £2, is worth buying, if it cannot be borrowed. The combs are simply uncapped with a sharp carving knife, placed in the extractor two at a time, and the honey is extracted by centrifugal force as the handle is turned. Heather honey is thicker, and cannot be extracted in this way, but is squeezed out in a specially designed press. It commands a higher price; and the wax can be melted down and used for household purposes. Happy is the bee-keeper who can cart his hives to the moors some night in August, when the clover has ceased to yield nectar. He secures a second harvest.

In September the bee-keeper must make his preparations for winter. Perhaps he will be able to secure some healthy bees from a straw skep whose ignorant owner has condemned them to the sulphur-pit rather than keep them through the winter consuming their own honey. This stupid and barbarous custom still survives in out-of-the-way districts. Such bees may be obtained cheaply; nor is the old superstition quite extinct that

it is unlucky to take money for bees. But it is safer to avoid those from infected neighbourhoods, for the I. O. W. disease in its first stage can only be detected by a bacteriologist. In any case, a weak stock should always be united to a stronger one, as it may die in the winter. A strong stock economises heat and consumes less stores proportionately than a weak one. The bee-keeper's great aim should be to winter strong stocks only, and thus be ready to take advantage of an early honey-flow in spring.

How to deal with the swarming propensity is one of the most difficult problems of all. He who lets his bees swarm at will may increase the number of his stocks, but he will diminish the output of honey, for, when the swarming fever possesses a hive, it becomes idle. Moreover, swarms may issue at a time when no one sees them, decamp before they are hived, and so be lost to their owner, who cannot legally recover them if they once go out of his sight. Modern bee-science therefore aims at preventing natural swarming, and making artificial swarms as needed. Directions for doing this are given in all up-to-date handbooks. If natural swarming is to be prevented, plenty of space must be given in advance, and also plenty of ventilation; for heat and overcrowding are the main causes of swarming. But there is nothing better than a good natural swarm for a beginner to start with. It is more easily managed than an established stock or colony. The third method of starting is to obtain a 'nucleus,' that is to say, three or four frames of comb covered by bees, with a queen. As much as 5*l.* 5*s.* is now being asked for a three-frame nucleus of a good strain. A nucleus needs liberal feeding and gives no return till the following season, but it is small and easily handled by a novice.

Feeding is no difficulty, when sugar is obtainable. Treacle-tins and jam-jars covered with muslin and inverted over the frames make good feeders. Bees amply repay generous treatment. It is much better to rob the store-cupboard of sugar than to risk starving the bees in winter, especially as the sugar thus used can be replaced with an equivalent quantity of honey, even for cooking and preserving purposes. The general principle is to allow equal weights of sugar and water for spring and

summer feeding, and about two-thirds of sugar to one of water for autumn feeding. Candy may be laid on top of the combs in winter if required. Recipes are given in the handbooks. Careless bee-keepers often neglect to provide 'winter passages' under the quilts. These are made by placing two strips of wood under the quilts, to allow the bees to travel over the top of a comb in cold weather in order to reach fresh supplies of honey in another comb. Another precaution often neglected is to grease all moveable parts with vaseline before putting them on the hive. This prevents the bees from glueing them tightly down with *propolis*, to the great discomfort of the bee-keeper, for all jarring should be avoided when the frames are lifted out for examination.

During the winter months the bees should be left severely alone. They are in a state of semi-hibernation, only coming out for a 'cleansing flight' on warm days, when they void their accumulated excreta; for the bee, as Aristotle observes, is a very clean creature, and never under normal conditions soils the hive. Sometimes sunshine on snow will lure them out by shedding a deceitful glare on the alighting board. Then little holes will be found in the snow where foolish bees have alighted on it and been unable to rise. The entrance should therefore be shaded at such times. Tits and other birds also take their toll of bees in winter, while moths attack the hive from within. A ball of naphthaline should not be omitted in the autumn.

But the surest preventive of trouble at all times is a numerous population, strong enough to repel all vermin, including wasps in autumn. Wasps will soon clear a hive of its honey if allowed. One spring the writer offered a halfpenny each for queen wasps to the local school-children. The result was that he received over 500 dead queens, and there was a welcome scarcity of wasps in the following September. Bees will also rob one another, and an outbreak of robbing is often very difficult to stop. It is usually caused through careless exposure of honey. A piece of glass or a handful of hay over the entrance of the robbed hive sometimes stops it, but the best device is the 'claustral' hive, the front of which can be entirely closed, being fitted with ventilating shafts. We have known a hive robbed of all

its honey by a neighbour's bees, in spite of its owner's efforts, till the worker-bees lay dead in heaps, and the queen, always the last to die, roamed solitary over the empty combs.

Though a queen-bee can, as we have seen, lay the almost incredible number of 3500 eggs a day—that is, twice her own weight in the twenty-four hours—in the last resort all depends on the care and forethought of the bee-master. If he interferes too much with Nature, he will spoil her plans, but if he does not assist her, his profits will be small, for the bees are working for the benefit of their own race and not his. Between October and April, when little or nothing can be done in the bee-garden, he will make his preparations for the summer, and not leave everything till the last moment. If he does not see that his hives are warm, well-ventilated, and waterproof, if he grudges honey or sugar to his bees, and lets them send out swarms as often as they choose, and fight their own battles against disease and vermin, he does not deserve success. But success is worth attaining, as we have endeavoured to show, and is much more easily attained now than in the days of Virgil's old Corycian pirate, who established so happy a fellowship between himself, his bees, and his garden :

'In spring, the first to pluck a rose new-blown,
In autumn, first to shake the pippins down ;
And when glum winter split the rocks with cold,
And curb'd the rivers in its icy hold,
E'en then soft curls of hyacinth he drest,
With fie for late spring, and for laggard west !

No wonder then, if first of all was he
To lead the swarm and tend the matron bee ;
And first the bubbling honeycomb to press,
For limes had he, and pine-trees numberless.
And every fruit the tree at flowering wore,
The same in autumn fully ripe it bore.'

(Virgil, *G.* iv, 158. Blackmore.)

T. F. ROYDS.

Art. 15.—UTOPIAS UNLIMITED. ✓

1. *Roads to Freedom.* By Bertrand Russell. Allen & Unwin, 1918.
2. *Labour in the Commonwealth.* By G. D. H. Cole. Headley, 1918.
3. *Democracy at the Cross-Roads.* By M. D. Petre. Fisher Unwin, 1918.
4. *The Human Needs of Labour.* By B. Seebohm Rowntree. Nelson, 1918.
5. *Poverty and Waste.* By Hartley Withers. Murray, 1917.
6. *Democracy at the Crossways.* By F. J. C. Hearnshaw. Macmillan, 1918.
7. *Principles of Social Reconstruction.* By Bertrand Russell. Allen & Unwin, 1916.
8. *Freedom.* By Gilbert Cannan. Headley, 1918.

MR CHESTERTON once remarked, in his forcible-facetious way, that, if the social revolution ever did come, the streets would run red with the blood of philanthropists. But if this be the doom awaiting the philanthropists, what horrible fate is in store for the theorists? Remembering Carlyle's dramatic description of what happened to the French aristocrats who sneered at the theorists of the 'Contrat Social,' one hesitates to mock at even the maddest-brained *idéologue* of the middle-classes who, with a comfortable private income or a safe berth in the Civil Service, may be mapping out just now a romantic Elysium for 'Labour.' The strangest things may occur in connexion with that incalculable element, the 'soul of man'; and it would be mortifying, to say the least, after having ridiculed one of these literary Utopias, to find that our skin was required of us to 'bind the second edition of it.' But the theorists are ultra-respectable nowadays (some are even aristocrats themselves); and we have a pretty firm conviction that the critic might fall foul of any of them without being gibbeted by the British 'working man' who, generally speaking, has never heard of them or their theories. Almsgiving may prove to be not too certain a passport to the favour of our coming democracy, but it is scarcely likely that mere 'intellectualism' will be preferred before it. Whatever

be the root-cause of the present industrial upheavals, the theorists of the latest 'Social Contracts' seem to exercise little real influence outside their own particular 'schools.' They dwell in a world apart from the great mass of labouring men; and it would scarcely be too much to say that the barrier shutting off the rich from the poor is not more actual and distinct than that dividing the 'workers' from those who only write about work.

The study of a sheaf of literature (a selection from which heads this article), treating of labour ideals and plans for economic readjustment, goes far to confirm this view. The doctrinaires—socialist, capitalist and meliorist alike—all suggest plausible solutions of the interacting problems of wealth and wages. But with very few exceptions these theorists—especially the more 'intellectual' type—can claim but a small share in the shaping of working-class demands; and one might with a fair degree of certainty hazard the prediction that if the social revolution ever did come it would not be a 'book' revolution.

Not that, as has been said, there is any lack of material sent into the libraries lately to start a score of revolutionary (and largely contradictory) 'movements.' Here, for instance, is Mr Bertrand Russell, in his 'Roads to Freedom,' concerning himself overmuch with what he conceives to be the only two alternative routes to the Promised Land, viz., Socialism and Anarchist-Communism. This book, though it contains many fine philosophical reflections, strikes one as being, in the main, a work of supererogation. As regards a substantial part of it, it might have been written twenty years ago. It is too sketchy and perfunctory for its theme (the author admits that it was finished off in a hurry, just before he went to prison), and gives the impression, here and there, of being a less eloquent summary of some of the ideas enunciated in his 'Principles of Social Reconstruction'—a vastly better book, to which we shall refer again later on.

In 'Roads to Freedom' Mr Russell deals principally with the conflict between the Collectivist and the Communist ideals, and the bearings of each on the question of labour control. Into which scale should we throw our weight? Should we aim at the setting-up of a

paramount Collectivist authority—the 'State' of the Marxian Socialist—with supreme power to produce, distribute and exchange; or should we aim at the gradual devolution of initiative and responsibility from the State to the group and from the group to the individual? The whole problem centres in the first place (and perhaps in the last) round industry and the distribution of wealth. Mr Russell, of course, jettisons the existing system of production for profit, and then addresses himself to an enquiry into the relative claims of the Socialist and the Syndicalist to look after the business of the social organism. In his attitude to this pair Mr Russell reminds us somewhat of Launcelot Gobbo in torment between the fiend and his conscience. 'Socialism,' says Mr Russell, 'you counsel well; Syndicalism, you counsel well.' He considers both of them, notes their attractions and defects, and decides for a combination of both.

'Marxian Socialism would, I fear, give too much power to the State; while Syndicalism, which aims at the abolition of the State, would, I believe, find itself forced to re-construct a central authority in order to put an end to the rivalries of different groups of producers. The best practical system to my mind is Guild Socialism, which concedes what is valid, both in the claims of the State Socialists and in the Syndicalists' fear of the State, by adopting a system of federalism among trades for reasons similar to those which have recommended federalism among nations.'

In the Guild Socialist idea the State and society are two separable spheres. The Guilds will attend to the interests of the citizens as producers, and the State will guard their rights as consumers. A Guilds Congress would be co-equal with Parliament as a constitutional governing authority, having full power over all the processes of production; while the State would act as overseer of the safety of the realm and the welfare of the community as a whole. The nation would thus be divided up into two neat sections, any question of clashing interests being thrashed out in the joint Parliament of the State and the Guilds. It is evident that Mr Russell has an uneasy sense that it might be as difficult to reconcile the rights of producers and consumers under this system as it is now; and that, in any case, it would not be all honey in the

Guild Socialist paradise, for he hastens to assure us early in the book that 'pure anarchism' is his own 'ultimate ideal.' Meditating over his mathematics and his metaphysics, and feeling himself to be capable of full 'self-determination,' as well as at peace with all mankind, he has no qualms about outlining for us the features of his Communist society, in which every man will do practically what he likes, and where, so far as we can discern, there is no semblance of a 'central authority' to compel him to do anything at all. 'Necessaries' would be 'free' to everybody,

'but whatever went beyond necessities should only be given to those who were willing to work—not, as is usual at present, only to those in work at any moment, but also to those who when they happened not to be working were idle through no fault of their own. . . . The comparatively small number of men with an invincible horror of work—the sort of men who now become tramps—might lead a harmless, necessary existence without any grave danger of their becoming sufficiently numerous to be a serious burden upon the more industrious.'

There would probably be no 'tramps,' however, in Mr Russell's Anarchist arcadia—or they would be called 'artists.' There is a special section for 'artists,' who, in return for doing nothing but enjoy themselves (there is no compulsion even to produce any 'art'), would receive a small honorarium from the community.

'Under this plan every man could live without work. There would be what might be called a "vagabond's wage," sufficient for existence but not for luxury. The artist who preferred to have his whole time for art and enjoyment might live on the "vagabond's wage," travelling on foot when the humour seized him to see foreign countries, enjoying the air and the sun, as free as the birds, and perhaps scarcely less happy. Such men would bring colour and diversity into the life of the community. . . . They would keep alive a much-needed element of light-heartedness which our sober serious civilisation tends to kill.'

The only necessary comment on which, for the moment, is that, whatever this Utopia might lack, it would not be short of 'artists.'

All this part of Mr Russell's book can be enjoyed as a
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romance, written by a particularly earnest romancer. But, like all the Utopians, Mr Russell is rather reticent about the ways and means of making it come true. He has no mind for working out the practical details of the 'transitional' period. Our society is bad, so he conceives a better one (anybody could do this), and forthwith transports us thither with the celerity of an Arabian Night's magician. It is characteristic, too, of this type of theorist that, although they nearly always ignore the real difficulties of conveying us from the bad society into the good one, they are fussily circumstantial over some of the minor problems that might crop up in the community of their dreams. Reading Mr Russell's academic discussion of what might happen to literature under an Anarchist *régime*, which would settle what books were to be printed and who would print them, together with his note on the possible remuneration of opera singers, one recalls the minute considerations that were wont to be given to Utopian wall-paper and door-knockers in the Socialist fantasies of the 'nineties.

Now and then Mr Russell betrays a knowledge of human nature, as when he remarks (mildly enough) that 'I fear it cannot be said that . . . bad impulses are wholly due to a bad social system'; and he even goes so far in one place as to cast a doubt on his own bright imaginings by confessing that, though his arguments in favour of Communism are 'sufficient to make it seem possible that the plan might succeed,' they are 'not sufficient to make it so probable that it would be wise to try it.' All the same, his projected commonwealth is offered to us with the seriousness of a bill in Parliament. In fact, despite the attention which Mr Russell gives to the opposing theories of Marx and Bakunin (he reviews 'Das Kapital' almost as though it was published yesterday), and some faithful criticism which he deals out to the wild proposals of the Syndicalists, 'Roads to Freedom' has an air of presenting us with a social scheme already well under way, and only awaiting the pilotage of experts. His final word, that before we can have freedom we must have goodwill, but slightly modifies this impression.

Needless to say, Mr Cole also assumes the success of his Guild Socialist ideal. 'Labour in the Commonwealth' is the latest of a series of works by this tenacious

theorist, in which he has been diligently preparing the ground for our acceptance of that new order of society which will result from the 'change in status' of the 'wage-earner.' Mr Cole is at once the prophet and scribe of the advanced Trade Union movement—the outposts of which seem to us to be so advanced as practically to have lost touch with the main body. There is certainly no lack of 'detail' in the doctrines of Mr Cole. His books are gritty with 'detail'—'Labour in the Commonwealth' perhaps least so of all. He does not dabble greatly in the language of idealism, preferring to 'drive at practice.' In one of his earliest discussions of industrial questions, 'The World of Labour' (1913), he gave a strong indication of his bent in this matter by averring that 'in countries like England, painfully afflicted with the art of compromise and muddling-through, ideas gain more by being turned into business propositions than by being artistically and dramatically expressed.' For all that, and notwithstanding his own concentration on procedure, function, the machinery of organisation, and so forth, Mr Cole is to our mind yet another instance of a theorist arguing in the void so far as the temper and tastes of the average British workman are concerned.

After a thorough soaking in the system of social economics, advocated with such a wealth of elaboration by Mr Cole and his school, one almost begins to fancy that 'Guilds' and 'functional government' and 'abolition of wage slavery' must surely be the phrases on the tip of every workman's tongue and the dear desire of every workman's heart. Yet hardly anything could be further from the truth. The artisan and labouring classes of England, for all their restiveness, are not thinking in terms of Guild Socialism, nor are very large numbers of them likely to perish on the barricades sounding the battle-cry of 'Functional Government.' To many, we may be sure, and especially after the experience of high wages during the war, the proposal to abolish the system of paying wages altogether—which forms the basis of Guild Socialist propaganda—would seem tantamount to a dodge to get people to work for nothing. Mr Cole may reply that such a condition of ignorance is naturally a matter for the educators in the movement to attend to, and ultimately eradicate. But what reasonable

guarantee does he hold out that, even if and when the proletariat can be persuaded to give the Guilds a trial, with the object of eventually getting rid of the private employer and syndicalising industry, the relations between the producers and the consumers of goods will be any more harmonious than they are at present?

Further, what assurance have we that the workmen themselves will accept the rulings of the Guilds with any better grace, and observe them with any greater fidelity, than many of them have shown in recent years in regard to the rulings of their own Trade Unions? Over and over again we hear that the soulless State or Corporation has turned out to be no better as an employer than the private capitalist. Would the Industrial Guild introduce that 'human' element into its dealings with the craftsmen, the absence of which is still, in many quarters, judged to be the worst evil of all? Perhaps it would. Perhaps it would be 'human, all-too-human,' in its treatment of its own members and managers, and correspondingly callous to the interests of those outside the ring—the buyers of its productions, that is. Under Guild Socialism the State, as we have seen, is to have an equal mandate with the Guilds' Congress for adjusting differences between the two nations of producers and consumers. It seems highly probable that it would find ample opportunities for exercising its privilege in this respect, and might not, in fact, ever have time for anything else.

Mr Cole's faith in machinery is pathetic. He appears to place as much trust in the machinery of 'self-determination in industry' as some other people do in the machinery of 'self-determination' for nationalities. He looks forward to that perfect day when we shall have a 'form of social organisation which will afford to the individual the fullest and freest power of self-government in an organised community.'

It is 'organisation' all through—and 'organisation' for what? Individual freedom? Widely different notions of what constitutes 'freedom' can be found in any two people in any one room. One man's 'freedom' is often another man's fetters; the 'fullest and freest' autonomy of a Labour group might strike the labourers and citizens in other groups as merely another form of brigandage.

Then their groups would organise for retaliation or self-protection; we should be back again in social chaos; and many of the most ardent 'freedom'-mongers would no doubt be calling loudly for the re-emergence of some despotic authority—King or State or Constitution—to restore order and reduce the warring factions to their rightful proportions in the realm. Mr Cole blandly and unquestioningly assumes that, when the 'machinery of organisation' is renovated and renamed, human nature will undergo a radical change for the better, and that, directly the workman has got his Guild, sloth, greed and dishonesty will fly away.

But, if it may be said that Mr Cole and his coadjutors in the advanced Labour movement tend to leave out of account the dynamic element of human perversity, there is another class of writer in our group who goes on arguing about the problems of Capital and Labour as though the theories and proposals of the Socialist school had never been made. This will never do. The critic may legitimately doubt if the workman is much impressed by the Morris-dance of men like Messrs Russell and Cole. But the capitalist must not ignore the fact that their teachings have to be met and counter-acted.

In Miss M. D. Petre's little volume entitled 'Democracy at the Cross-Roads,' we find a recognition of the factor known as human character, so lamentably missing from the work of the extreme Socialists and anti-Socialists alike. Miss Petre realises that the worker is neither angel nor machine, but shares good and bad qualities with every other class in the community. Her book would, indeed, prove a salutary medicine for hot-headed and narrow-minded 'Labour' rebels if they would only take it—which we can very heartily recommend them to do.

Miss Petre starts by insisting that, if 'the world is to be made safe for Democracy, Democracy must be made safe for the world'—a remark originally made by Mr G. L. Beer in criticising certain supporters of the League of Nations in the United States. But it is not long before she is really cutting the ice with something more to the point; and rebuking both forcefully and wittily the facile eulogisers of Labour.

'Human nature is not in itself the noblest creation imaginable, and it is a false idealism that would find its finest moral flower in its most trampled and neglected regions. We are all of us weak and lazy and cowardly . . . the poor are no whit better than the rich in these respects, for material poverty has no essential connexion with poverty of spirit. . . . Some who have lived amongst children, and managed, nevertheless, to love them, are often moved to laughter by the poetical presentation of child-life set forth by those who have never wiped a dirty nose or spent an afternoon with a nursery full of children recovering from influenza. So, too, those who have worked among the poor are moved to mirth by the one-sided romance of others who have not frequented city slums or rural back lanes.'

The author sees, and says very plainly, that what Labour needs more than anything else just now is a strong application of self-criticism. Far too long, no doubt, did it receive little but the kicks and cuffs of its superiors. Now it is in danger of languishing under the flattery of sycophantic courtiers. Having established its claims, the flower of democracy should possess itself of a stout belting of cynicism regarding its virtues, for, in truth, they are but frail and fallible.

'Can any one honestly maintain that the working classes, or the people in general, are at present manifesting more disinterestedness than the privileged classes against whom they are tilting? . . . What we want to hear from the representatives of the working classes is, coupled with their claims for higher wages or less work, a demand on their own party to make high use of these advantages. The campaign against poverty should be joined with a campaign against vice and disease and waste and idleness and incompetence.'

Emerson said that, when a man ceased to worry about whether his neighbour cheated him, and concentrated all his attention on not cheating his neighbour, he exchanged his market-cart for a chariot of the sun. This is the spirit in which Miss Petre has approached the feud between those two quarrelsome neighbours, the employer and the workman; and the debate loses nothing in interest by being a little emotionalised.

For Mr B. Seeböhm Rowntree the question is largely

one of a minimum wage, and the amount of food, clothing, furniture and 'sundries' that can be bought with it. He represents the quantity of food per man per day necessary for average muscular work as 115 grams of protein and 3500 calories of fuel energy. For very light work (such, we gather, as lounging about town) his allowance is 90 of the former and 2500 of the latter. Yet, whereas he found in one of his Labour investigations that the wages of a large number of workers were not sufficient to provide this minimum, he discovered a West End Club in which the average daily dietary per person contained 202 grams of protein and 5148 calories of fuel energy. Mr Rowntree estimates that, allowing for the probability of prices not getting lower for many years than 25 per cent. above the pre-war level, a minimum wage of 44s. weekly would be necessary for a family of man, wife and three children, and 25s. for single women. Can industry afford to bear this cost? Mr Rowntree makes four suggestions under this head. The minimum wage may come from :

1. A decrease in the cost of raw material.
2. An increase in selling prices.
3. A reduction of profits, but not below the level required to attract the necessary capital.
4. An increase in the productivity of industry, whether due to better organisation and machinery, greater efficiency on the part of the workers or management, or any other factor.

'The Human Needs of Labour' throws a practical searchlight on the physical aspect of the workers' necessities, and should be studied by all concerned in drawing up any future charter for this class.

Of yet another kind is Mr Hartley Withers's contribution to the all-absorbing theme. With one foot in Lombard Street and the other in the Temple of the Humanities, Mr Withers comes forward as an intelligent meliorist, believing more in goodwill than in Acts of Parliament, and proclaiming that productive spending and persistent saving on the part of the rich would do more than any amount of 'dividing up' to get rid of the worst evils of poverty. Mankind 'is surprised and sore' to-day at the discovery that, in spite of all its wonderful

and successful enterprise in the fields of industry, it still has to work harder than ever for its living.

'One of the causes of the disillusionment is the dawn of a belief that no industrial victory can be complete, no material achievement can have reached its goal, as long as those who do the hardest work get so mean a share of the good things of the world, that they have no chance of life in the fullest sense of the term.'

The panacea advocated in 'Poverty and Waste' is a cessation of luxurious living in well-to-do circles, and a widespread storing-up of capital for the purposes of useful production. Stimulating as a good part of this book is, we hardly think the author's suggested remedy goes to the root of the subject. Even if it does, he is at pains to re-assure any who might be terrified by it, by telling them 'it is not likely to happen hurriedly.' He prophesies good things as a result of the curtailment of national and personal extravagance. But

'before these can happen there must be a radical change of taste, and breakdown of ostentatious display; and also a realisation of the fact that every luxury is stiffening the price of commodities for the poor. . . . Need we fear that these two things will happen with any alarming celerity?'

'Fear'! If Mr Withers's gospel is a genuine one, and offered in good faith with a desire for its acceptance, we confess we do not quite follow his final comfortable interrogation.

Utopia only comes in by a side-wind in Mr Hearnshaw's 'Democracy at the Crossways.' It is not unlike that of some others—'a cordial co-operation' between 'masters and men, combined to conduct industry so as to obtain the maximum of efficiency on the one side, and the maximum of liberty on the other.' Thus we box the compass of ideals for the coming commonwealth, touching the capitalist ideal on the 'efficiency' side, and the communist ideal on the 'liberty' side. Mr Hearnshaw is 'like that.' He gets a bit from one and a bit from the other, stitches the lot together and presents what he apparently considers is a coherent social state. Occasionally he gives us a touch of Mr Sapsea, as when he

